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In issuing this first part of my Pali Miscellany, it is my hope that I shall be able to continue from time to time to give contributions towards illustrating several details of Pali philology. It will essentially depend upon the more or less favour this specimen meets with from those competent to judge. The following parts will eventually contain the Bhabra texts, the remains preserved in the Nikāyas of what I call the heretical dialect, inquiries on divers points of Pali grammar, emendations to edited texts, etc.

Copenhagen, March 31, 1879.

V. Trenckner.

Abbreviations.

AN. = Anguttaranikāyo.	Mp. = Manorathapūraṇī.
As. = Atthasālinī.	Pd. = Paramatthadīpanī.
Bv. = Buddhavaṃso.	Pj. = Paramatthajotikā.
Cp. = Cariyāpiṭakam.	Ps. = Papañcasūdanī.
Dh. = Dhammapadam.	SN. = Saṃyuttanikāyo.
DN. = Dīghanikāyo.	Sn. = Suttanipāto.
It. = Itivuttakam.	Ss. = Sārasaṅgaho.
Jāt. = Jātakam.	Th. = Theragāthā.
MN. = Majjhimanikāyo.	Ud. = Udānam.



A SPECIMEN OF MILINDAPAÑHO.

Milindo nāma so rājā Sāgalāyam - puruttame
upagañchi Nāgasenaṃ, Gangā va yatha sāgaram.

Asajja rājā citrakathinū ukkādhāraṃ tamonudaṃ
apucchi nipuṇe pañhe ṭhānāṭhānagate puthū.

Pucchāvissajjanā c' eva gambhīratthūpanissitā
hadayangamā kaṇṇasukhā abbhutā lomahaṃsanā.

Abhidhammavinayogāḷhā suttajālasamatthitā
Nāgasenakathā citrā opammehi nayehi ca.

Tattha ñāṇaṃ pañidhāya hāsayitvāna mānasāṃ
suṇoṭha nipuṇe pañhe kankhāṭhānavidālane ti.

Tamāyathā 'nusūyate. — Atthi Yonakānaṃ nānāpuṭa-
bhedaṇaṃ Sāgalan - nāma nagaram nadī-pabbata-sobhitaṃ
ramaṇīya-bhūmippadesabhāgaṃ ārāma-uyyānōpavana-ta-
lāka-pokkharāṇī-sampannaṃ nadī-pabbata-vana-rāma-
neyyakaṃ sutavantanimmitaṃ nihata-paccatthika-paccā-
mittaṃ anupapīlitaṃ vividha-vicitra-dalham-aṭṭāla-kotṭa-
kaṃ varapavara-gopuratoriṇaṃ gambhīraparikhā-paṇḍara-
pākāra-parikkhittantepuraṃ suvibhatta-vīthi-caccara-ca-
tukka-singhātakaṃ suppasāritānekaavidha-varabhaṇḍa-

paripūritantarāpaṇaṃ vividha-dānagga-sata-samupasobhi-
taṃ Himagirisikharasankāsa-varabhavanasatasahassa-pati-
maṇḍitaṃ gaja-haya-ratha-patti-samākulaṃ abhirūpa-
naranāri-gaṇānucaritaṃ ākiṇṇa-janamanussaṃ puthu-khat-
tiya-brāhmaṇa-vessa-suddaṃ vividha-samaṇabrāhmaṇa-
sabhājana-sanghaṭitaṃ bahuvidhaviññāvaṇṭa-naravīra-nise-
vitaṃ Kāsika-Koṭumbarakādi-nānāvidha-vatthāpaṇa-sam-
pannaṃ suppasārīta-rucira-bahuvidha-pupphagandhāpaṇa-
gandhagandhitaṃ āsimsaniya-bahuratana-paripūritaṃ di-
sāmukha-suppasārītāpaṇa-singāravāṇijagaṇānucaritaṃ ka-
hāpaṇa-rajata-suvaṇṇa-kāṃsa-patthara-paripūraṃ paj-
jotamāna-nidhi-niketaṃ pahūta-dhanadhañña-vittūpaka-
raṇaṃ paripuṇṇa-kosakoṭṭhāgāraṃ bahv-annapānaṃ bahu-
vidha-khajja-bhojja-leyya-peyya-sāyaniyaṃ Uttarakuru-
sankāsaṃ sampannasāssaṃ Ālakamandā viya devapuraṃ.

Ettha tathā tesāṃ pubbakammaṃ kathetabbaṃ, ka-
thentena ca chaddhā vibhajtvā kathetabbaṃ, seyyathidaṃ :
Pubbayogo, Milindapaṇhaṃ, Lakkhaṇapaṇhaṃ, Meṇḍaka-
paṇhaṃ, Anumānapaṇhaṃ, Opammakathāpaṇhan-ti. Tat-
tha Milindapaṇho : Lakkhaṇapaṇho Vimaticchedanapaṇho
ti duvidho ; Meṇḍakapaṇho pi : Mahāvaggo Yogikathāpaṇho
ti duvidho.

Pubbayogo ti tesāṃ pubbakammaṃ. Atīte kira
Kassapassa bhagavato sāsane vattamāne Gangāya samīpe
ekasmim āvāse mahābhikkhusangho paṭivasati. Tattha
vattasīlasampannā bhikkhū pāto va utthāya yatthisam-
muñjaniyo ādāya buddhagūṇe āvajjentā angaṇaṃ sammaj-
jitvā kacavaraṃ byūhaṃ karonti. Ath'eko bhikkhu ekaṃ
sāmaṇeraṃ : ehi sāmaṇera, imaṃ kacavaraṃ chaddhēhi
āha ; so asuṇanto viya gacchati. So dutiyam - pi tatiyam - pi
āmantiyamāno asuṇanto viya gacchat' eva. Tato so
bhikkhu : dubbaco ayaṃ sāmaṇero ti kuddho sammūñ-

⁶ saṅghāṭitaṃ AaC. ⁷ Kodu- M. ¹⁰ -singāri- BC. ¹³ bavha- D ;
bahunna- M. ¹⁷ chaddhā AM. ²⁹ chaddh- A throughout.

janidaṇḍena pahāraṃ adāsi. Tato so rodanto bhayena kacavaraṃ chaḍḍento: Iminā 'haṃ kacavarachadḍana-puññakammena yāvāhaṃ nibbānaṃ pāpuṇāmi etth' antare nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne majjhantikasuriyo viya mahesakkho mahātejo bhaveyyan - ti paṭhamapatthanaṃ paṭṭhapesi. Kacavaraṃ chaḍḍetvā nahānatthāya Gangātitthaṃ gato Gangāya ūmivegaṃ gaggarāyamānaṃ disvā: Yāvāhaṃ nibbānaṃ pāpuṇāmi etth' antare nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne ayaṃ ūmivego viya ṭhānuppattikapāṭibhāno bhaveyyaṃ akkhaya-pāṭibhāno ti dutiyam - pi patthanaṃ paṭṭhapesi. So pi bhikkhu sammunjanisālāya sammunjanim ṭhapetvā nahānatthāya Gangātitthaṃ gacchanto sāmaṇerassa patthanaṃ sutvā: esa mayā payojito pi tāva evaṃ pattheti, mayhaṃ kiṃ na samijjhissatīti cintetvā: Yāvāhaṃ nibbānaṃ pāpuṇāmi etth' antare nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne ayaṃ Gangāūmivego viya akkhaya-pāṭibhāno bhaveyyaṃ, iminā pucchitapucchitaṃ sabbaṃ pañhapāṭibhānaṃ vijātetuṃ nibbēṭhetuṃ samattho bhaveyyan - ti patthanaṃ paṭṭhapesi. Te ubho pi devesu ca manussesu ca saṃsaranā ekaṃ buddhantaṃ khepesuṃ. Atha amhākaṃ Bhagavatā pi yathā Moggaliputta-Tissatthero dissati evaṃ - ete pi dissanti: Mama parinibbānato pañcavassasate atikkante ete uppajjissanti, yaṃ mayā sukhumaṃ katvā desitaṃ dhammavinayaṃ taṃ ete pañhapucchana-opammayutti-vasena nijjaṭaṃ niggumbaṃ katvā vibhajjissanti niddiṭṭhā.

Tesu sāmaṇero Jambudīpe Sāgalanagare Milinda nāma rājā ahosi, paṇḍito byatto medhāvī paṭibalo, atitānāgata-paccuppannānaṃ samantayogavidhānakiriyānaṃ karanakāle nisammakārī hoti; bahūni c' assa satthāni uggahitāni honti, seyyathidaṃ: suti sammuti sankhyā yogā nīti visesikā gaṇikā gandhabbā tikicchā cātubbedā purāṇā itihāsā jotisā māyā hetu mantaṇā yuddhā chandasā muddā,

⁹ bhaveyyaṃ akkhaya-p. bhaveyyanti AC. ³⁰ sankhā A. ³¹ ganitā AC.

³² jotiā D, jotisana B, joti M. ³² chandāsā AC, chandasa B.

vacanena ekūnavīsati; vādi durāsado duppasaho, puthutit-thakarānaṃ aggam - akkhāyati; sakala-Jambudīpe Milinda raññā samo koci' nāhosi, yad - idaṃ thāmena javena sūriyena paññāya, addho mahaddhano mahābhogo, anantabalavāhano.

Ath' ekadivasam Milindo rājā anantabalavāhanaṃ catūranginiṃ balaggasenābyūhaṃ dassanakamyatāya nagarā nikkhamitvā bahinagare senāgaṇanaṃ kāretvā so rājā bhassappavādako lokāyata-vitaṇḍa-janasallāpa-ppavattakotūhalo suriyaṃ oloketvā amacce āmantesi: Bahu tāva divasāveseso, kiṃ karissāma idān' eva nagaraṃ pavisitvā; atthi koci paṇḍito samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā sanghī gaṇi gaṇācariyo, api arahantaṃ sammāsambuddhaṃ paṭijānamāno, yo mayā saddhiṃ sallapitum sakkoti kankhaṃ paṭivinetun - ti. Evaṃ vutte pañcasatā Yonakā rājānaṃ Milindaṃ etad - avocum: Atthi mahārāja cha satthāro: Pūraṇo Kassapo, Makkhali Gosālo, Nigaṇṭho Nātaputto, Saṅjayo Belaṭṭhaputto, Ajito Kesakambali, Pakudho Kaccāyano, te sanghino gaṇino gaṇācariyakā nātā yasassino titthakarā, sādhusammatā bahujaṇassa, gaccha tvaṃ mahārāja, te pañhaṃ pucchassu kankhaṃ paṭivinayassūti.

Atha kho Milindo rājā pañcahi Yonakasatehi parivuto bhadravāhanaṃ rathavaram - āruhya yena Pūraṇo Kassapo ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā Pūraṇena Kassapena saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnō kho Milindo rājā Pūraṇaṃ Kassapaṃ etad - avoca: Ko bhante Kassapa lokaṃ pāletīti. Paṭhavī mahārāja lokaṃ pāletīti. — Yadi bhante Kassapa paṭhavī lokaṃ pāleti atha kasmā Avicinirayaṃ gacchantā sattā paṭhaviṃ

⁴ suriyena AaC, sūrena Ab, surena DM. ⁷ catūranginiṃ B. ¹⁷ Pūraṇo all throughout. ¹⁸ Nātha- A, Nāṭa- M. ¹⁸ Belaṭṭhiputto ACD. ¹⁹ Pakudho BC.

atikkamitvā gacchantīti. — Evaṃ vutte Pūraṇo Kassapo n'eva sakkhi ogilitum n'eva sakkhi uggilitum, pattak-khandhō tuṇhībhūto pajjhāyanto nisīdi.

Atha kho Milindo rājā Makkhali-Gosālaṃ etad-avoca: Atthi bhante Gosāla kusalākusalāni kammāni, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Na-tthi mahārāja kusalākusalāni kammāni, na-tthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko, ye te mahārāja idhaloke khattiyā te paralokaṃ gantvā pi puna khattiyā va bhavissanti, ye te brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkusā te paralokaṃ gantvā pi puna brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkusā va bhavissanti, kiṃ kusalākusalehi kammehīti. — Yadi bhante Gosāla idhaloke khattiyā brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkusā paralokaṃ gantvā pi puna khattiyā brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkusā va bhavissanti, na-tthi kusalākusalehi kammehi karaṇīyaṃ; tena hi bhante Gosāla ye te idhaloke hatthacchinnā te paralokaṃ gantvā pi puna hatthacchinnā va bhavissanti, ye pādacchinnā te pādacchinnā va bhavissanti, ye kaṇṇanāsacchinnā te kaṇṇanāsacchinnā va bhavissanti. — Evaṃ vutte Gosālo tuṇhī ahosi.

Atha kho Milindassa rañño etad-ahosi: Tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo, palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo, na-tthi koci samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhiṃ sallapitum sakkoti kankhaṃ paṭivinetun-ti. Atha kho Milindo rājā amacce āmantesi: Ramaṇīyā vata bho dosinā ratti, kan-nu khv-ajja samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā upasankameyyāma pañhaṃ pucchitum, ko mayā saddhiṃ sallapitum sakkoti kankhaṃ paṭivinetun-ti. Evaṃ vutte amaccō tuṇhībhūtā rañño mukhaṃ olokayamānā aṭṭhaṃsu.

Tena kho pana samaṇena Sāgalanagaraṃ dvādasa vassāni suññaṃ ahosi samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-gahapati-paṇḍitehi; yattha samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-gahapati-paṇḍitā paṭivasantīti sunāti tattha gantvā rājā te pañhaṃ pucchati;

te sabbe pi pañhavissajjanena rājānaṃ ārādetuṃ asak-kontā yena vā tena vā pakkamanti, ye aññaṃ disaṃ na pakkamanti te sabbe tuṇhībhūta acchanti. Bhikkhū pana yebhuyyena Himavantam - eva gacchanti.

Tena kho pana samayena koṭisatā arahanto Hima-vante pabbate Rakkhittatale paṭivasanti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto dibbāya sotadhātuyā Milindassa rañño vaca-naṃ sutvā Yugandharamatthake bhikkhusanghaṃ sanni-pātetvā bhikkhū pucchi: Atth' āvuso koci bhikkhu paṭi-balo Milindena rañña saddhiṃ sallapitum kankhaṃ paṭi-vinetun - ti. Evaṃ vutte koṭisatā arahanto tuṇhī ahesum. Dutiyam - pi kho tatiyam - pi kho puṭṭhā tuṇhī ahesum. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto bhikkhusanghaṃ etad - avoca: Atth' āvuso Tāvatisabhavane Vejayantassa pācīnato Ketumatī nāma vimānaṃ, tattha Mahāsena nāma deva-putto paṭivasati, so paṭibalo tena Milindena rañña sad-dhiṃ sallapitum kankhaṃ paṭivinetun - ti. Atha kho koṭisatā arahanto Yugandharapabbate antarahitā Tāvatiṃ-sabhavane pāturahesum.

Addasā kho Sakko devānam - indo te bhikkhū dūrato va āgacchante, disvāna yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upa-sankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ abhi-vādetvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi. Ekamantaṃ tṭhito kho Sakko devānam - indo āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ etad - avoca: Mahā kho bhante bhikkhusangho anuppatto, ahaṃ sanghassa ārāmiko, ken' attho, kiṃ mayā karaṇīyan - ti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto Sakkaṃ devānam - indaṃ etad - avoca: Ayaṃ kho mahārāja Jambudīpe Sāgalana-gare Milindo nāma rājā, vādī durāsado duppasaho, pu-thutitthakarānaṃ aggam - akkhāyati, so bhikkhusanghaṃ upasankamitvā ditthivādena pañhaṃ pucchitvā bhikkhu-sanghaṃ vihethetīti. Atha kho Sakko devānam - indo āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ etad - avoca: Ayaṃ kho bhante Milindo rājā ito cuto manussesu uppanno; eso kho bhante Ketumatīvimāne Mahāsena nāma devaputto paṭivasati, so

tena Milindena raññā saddhiṃ paṭibalo sallapitum kan-
kham paṭivinetum, tam devaputtaṃ yācissāma manussa-
lokūpapattiyā ti.

Atha kho Sakko devānam - indo bhikkhusanghaṃ
purakkhatvā Ketumativimānaṃ pavisitvā Mahāsenam deva-
puttaṃ ālingitvā etad - avoca: Yācati tam mārisa bhik-
khusangho manussalokūpapattiyā ti. -- Na me bhante
manussaloken' attho kammabahulena, tibbo manussaloko,
idh' evāhaṃ bhante devaloke uparūparuppattiko hutvā
parinibbāyissāmīti. Dutiyam - pi kho tatiyam - pi kho
Sakke devānam - inde yācanta Mahāseno devaputto evam -
āha: Na me bhante manussaloken' attho kammabahu-
lena, tibbo manussaloko, idh' evāhaṃ bhante devaloke
uparūparuppattiko hutvā parinibbāyissāmīti. Atha kho
āyasmā Assagutto Mahāsenam devaputtaṃ etad - avoca:
Idha mayaṃ mārisa sadevakaṃ lokaṃ anuvilokayamānā
aññatra tayā Milindassa rañño vādam bhinditvā sāsanam
paggahetum samattham aññam kañci na passāma, yācati
tam mārisa bhikkhusangho: sādhu sappurisa, manussaloke
nibbattitvā Dasabalassa sāsanam paggaṇhitvā dehīti.
Evam vutte Mahāseno devaputto: ahaṃ kira Milindassa
rañño vādam bhinditvā sāsanam paggaṇhetum samattho
bhavissāmīti haṭṭhatutṭho udaggudaggo hutvā: Sādhu
bhante, manussaloke uppajjissāmīti paṭiññam adāsi.

Atha kho te bhikkhū devaloke tam karaṇīyam tīre-
tvā devesu Tāvatisesu antarahitā Himavante pabbate
Rakkhitatale pāturaḥesum. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto
bhikkhusanghaṃ etad - avoca: Atth' āvuso imasmim bhik-
khusanghe koci bhikkhu sannipātam anāgato ti. Evam
vutte aññataro bhikkhu āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ etad -
avoca: Atthi bhante, āyasmā Rohaṇo ito sattame divase

⁹ uparūparūpapattiko D, uparūpariupappattiko M, either time. ¹¹ Sakko
devānamindo all. ¹⁸ kiñci all. ²⁰ paggaṇhāhīti M.

Himavantaṃ pabbataṃ pavisitvā nirodhaṃ samāpanno, tassa santike dūtaṃ pāhethāti. Āyasmā pi Rohaṇo taṃ khaṇaṃ - ñeva nirodhā vuṭṭhāya: sangho maṃ pati-mānetīti Himavante pabbate antarahito Rakkhitatale koṭi-satānaṃ arahantānaṃ purato pāturahosi. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto āyasmantaṃ Rohaṇaṃ etad - avoca: Kin - nu kho āvuso Rohaṇa buddhasāsane palujjante na passasi sanghassa karaṇīyānīti. — Amanāsikāro me bhante aho-sīti. — Tena h' āvuso Rohaṇa daṇḍakammaṃ karohīti. — Kim bhante karomīti. — Atth' āvuso Rohaṇa Hima-vantapabbatapasse Kajangalan - nāma brāhmaṇagāmo, tattha Soṇuttaro nāma brāhmaṇo paṭivasati, tassa putto uppajjissati Nāgaseno nāma dārako; tena hi tvaṃ āvuso Rohaṇa dasamāsādhikāni satta vassāni taṃ kulaṃ piṇḍāya pavisa, piṇḍāya pavisitvā Nāgasenaṃ dārakaṃ nīharitvā pabbājehi, pabbajite ca tasmim daṇḍakammato muccissasīti āha. Āyasmā pi kho Rohaṇo: sādhūti sam-paṭicchi.

Mahāseno pi kho devaputto devalokā cavitvā Soṇu-tarabrāhmaṇassa bhariyāya kucchismiṃ paṭisandhiṃ ag-gahesi. Saha paṭisandhigahaṇā tayo acchariyā abbhutā dhammā pāturaheṣuṃ: āvudhabhaṇḍāni pajjalimsu, agga-sassaṃ abhinipphannaṃ, mahāmegho abhippavassi. Āyasmā pi kho Rohaṇo tassa paṭisandhigahaṇato paṭṭhāya dasa-māsādhikāni satta vassāni taṃ kulaṃ piṇḍāya pavisanto ekadivasam - pi kaṭacchumattaṃ bhattaṃ vā uḷunkamattaṃ yāguṃ vā abhivādanaṃ vā añjalikammaṃ vā sāmīcika-mmaṃ vā nālattha, atha kho akkosaṃ - ñeva paribhāsaṃ - ñeva paṭilabhati, aticchatha bhante ti vacanamattam - pi vattā nāma nāhosi. Dasamāsādhikānaṃ pana sattannaṃ vassānaṃ accayena ekadivasam aticchatha bhante ti va-canamattaṃ alattha. Taṃ divasam - eva ca brāhmaṇo pi

²⁸ akkosañceva paribhāsañceva B.

bahikammantā āgacchanto paṭipathe theram disvā: Kim bho pabbajita amhākaṃ geham - agamatthāti āha. — Ama brāhmaṇa, agamamhāti. — Api kiñci labhitthāti. — Ama brāhmaṇa, labhimhāti. So anattamano geham gantvā pucchi: Tassa pabbajitassa kiñci adatthāti. — Na kiñci adamhāti.

Brāhmaṇo dutiyādivase gharadvāre yeva nisīdi: ajja pabbajitaṃ musāvādena niggaheṣṣāmīti. Thero dutiya-divase brāhmaṇassa gharadvāraṃ sampatto; brāhmaṇo theram disvā va evam - āha: Tumhe hiyyo amhākaṃ gehe kiñci alabhitvā yeva labhimhāti avocuttha, vaṭṭati nu kho tumhākaṃ musāvādo ti. Thero āha: Mayaṃ brāhmaṇa tumhākaṃ gehe dasamāsādhikāni satta vassāni aticchatthāti vacanamattam - pi alabhitvā hiyyo aticchatthāti vacanamattam alabhimha, ath' etaṃ vacīpaṭiṣanthāraṃ upādāya evam - avocumhāti. Brāhmaṇo cintesi: ime vācīpaṭiṣanthāramattam - pi labhitvā janamajjhe labhimhāti pasamsanti, aññaṃ kiñci khādaniyaṃ vā, bhojaniyaṃ vā labhitvā kasmā na - ppasamsantīti pasīditvā attano atthāya paṭiyāditabhaddato kaṭacchubhikkhaṃ tadūpiyaṃ - ca byañjanaṃ dāpetvā: Imaṃ bhikkhaṃ sabbakālaṃ tumhe labhissathāti āha. So punadivasato - ppabhuti upasankamantassa therassa upasamaṃ disvā bhiyyosomattāya pasīditvā theram niccakālaṃ attano ghare bhaddavissaggakaraṇatthāya yāci. Thero tuṇhībhāvena adbhivāsetvā divase divase bhaddakiccaṃ katvā gacchanto thokaṃ thokaṃ buddhavacanam kathetvā gacchati.

Sā pi kho brāhmaṇī dasamāsaccayena puttaṃ vijāyi, Nāgaseno ti 'ssa nāmaṃ ahosi. So anukkamena vaḍḍhanto sattavassiko jāto. Atha kho Nāgasenassa dāra-kassa pitā Nāgasenaṃ dāraṃ etad - avoca: Imasmim

² āgamatthāti DM. ³ āgam- CDM. ⁹ sampatte AD (perhaps to be read there . . . sampatte). ¹⁰ va om, D. ¹⁵ vacanapaṭiṣanthāramattam AD.

²⁶ thokathokaṃ B.

kho tātā Nāgasena brāhmaṇakule sikkhāni sikkheyyāsīti. — Katamāni tātā imasmim brāhmaṇakule sikkhāni nāmāti. — Tayo kho tātā Nāgasena vedā sikkhāni nāma, avasesāni sippāni sippam nāmāti. — Tena hi tātā sikkhisāmīti. — Atha kho Soṇuttaro brāhmaṇo ācariyabrāhmaṇassa ācariyabhāgaṃ sahaṣsaṃ datvā antopāsāde ekasmim gabbe ekato mañcakam paññāpetvā ācariyabrāhmaṇaṃ etadavoca: Sajjhāyāpehi kho tvaṃ brāhmaṇa imaṃ dārakam mantānīti. Tena hi tātā dāraka uggaṇhāhi mantānīti ācariyabrāhmaṇo sajjhāyati. Nāgasenassa dārakassa eken' eva uddesena tayo vedā hadayangatā vācuggatā sūpadhāritā suvavatthāpitā sumanasikatā ahesum, sakim' eva cakkhum udapādi tīsu vedesu sa-niggaṇḍu-keṭubhesu sākkharappabhedesu itihāsaapañcomesu, padako veyyākaraṇo lokāyata-mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anavayo ahoṣi. Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako pitaraṃ etadavoca: Atthi nu kho tātā imasmim brāhmaṇakule ito uttarim' pi sikkhitabbāni, udāhu ettakān' evāti. — Na tthi tātā Nāgasena imasmim brāhmaṇakule ito uttarim' sikkhitabbāni, ettakān' eva sikkhitabbānīti. — Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako ācariyassa anuyogaṃ, datvā pāsādā oruḥa pubbavāsānāya coditahadayo rahogato patisallīno attano sippassa ādi-majjha-pariyosānaṃ oloken'to ādimhi vā majjhe vā pariyosāne vā appamattakam' pi sāraṃ adisvā: tucchā vata bho ime vedā, palāpā vata bho ime vedā, asārā nissārā ti vipparisāri anattamano ahoṣi.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Rohaṇo Vattaniye senāsane nisinno Nāgasenassa dārakassa cetasā cetoparivitakkam' aññāya nivāsetvā pattacīvaram' ādāya Vattaniye senāsane antarahito Kajangala-brāhmaṇagāmassa purato pāturahosi. Addasā kho Nāgaseno dārako attano dvārakotṭhake tthito āyasmantaṃ Rohaṇaṃ dūrato va āgacchantaṃ, disvāna attamano udaggo pamudito pītisomanas-sajāto: app' eva nāmāyaṃ pabbajito kadāci sāraṃ jāneyyāti yen' āyasmā Rohaṇo ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā

āyasmantaṃ Rohaṇaṃ etad - avoca: Ko. nu kho tvaṃ mārisa, ediso bhaṇḍu kāsāvavasano ti. — Pabbajito nā-māhaṃ dārakāti. — Kena tvaṃ mārisa pabbajito nāmā-sīti. — Pāpakānaṃ malānaṃ pabbājetuṃ pabbajito, tasmā 'haṃ dāraka pabbajito nāmāti. — Kinkāraṇā mārisa kesā te na yathā aññesan - ti. — Soḷas' ime dāraka palibodhe disvā kesamassuṃ ohāretvā pabbajito, katame soḷasa: alaṇ-kārapalibodho maṇḍanapalibodho telamakkhanapalibodho dhovanapalibodho mālāpalibodho gandhanapalibodho vāsa-napalibodho harītakapalibodho āmalakapalibodho rangapa-libodho bandhanapalibodho kocchapalibodho kappakapali-bodho vijāṇanapalibodho ūkāpalibodho, kesesu vilūnesu so-canti kilamanti paridevanti urattālīṃ kanti sammoham - āpajjanti, imesu kho dāraka soḷasa-palibodhesu paliguṇṭhita manussā sabbāni atisukhumāni sippāni nāsentīti. — Kin-kāraṇā mārisa vatthāni pi te na yathā aññesan - ti. — Kāmanissitāni kho dāraka vatthāni kamanīyāni gihibyañ-janāni, yāni kānici kho bhayāni vatthato uppajjanti tāni kāsāvavasanassa na honti, tasmā vatthāni pi me na yathā aññesan - ti. — Jānāsi kho tvaṃ mārisa sippāni nāmāti. — Āma dāraka, jānāmi ahaṃ sippāni, yaṃ loke utta-maṃ mantaṃ tam - pi jānāmi. — Mayham - pi taṃ mā-risa dātuṃ sakkā ti. — Āma dāraka, sakkā ti. — Tena hi me dehīti. — Akālo kho dāraka, antaragharaṃ piṇ-ḍāya pavitṭh' amhāti.

Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako āyasmato Rohaṇassa hatthato pattaṃ gahetvā gharaṃ pavesetvā paṇītena khādaniyena bho-janiyena sahatthā santappetvā sampavāretvā āyasmantaṃ Rohaṇaṃ bhuttāviṃ onītapattapāṇiṃ etad - avoca: Dehi me dāni mārisa mantan - ti. — Yadā kho tvaṃ dāraka nip-palibodho hutvā mātāpitaro anujānāpetvā mayā gahitaṃ pabbajitavesaṃ gaṇhissasi tadā dassāmīti āha. Atha kho

³ nāma sīti C. ⁹ gandhapali- M. ¹⁴ soḷasasu M. ²³ dātuṃ sakko all.

Nāgaseno dārako mātāpitaro upasankamitvā āha: Amma tāta, ayaṃ pabbajito: yaṃ loke uttamaṃ mantam taṃ jānāmīti vadati, na ca attano santike apabbajitassa deti, ahaṃ etassa santike pabbajitvā taṃ mantam uggaṇhis-sāmīti. Ath' assa mātāpitaro: pabbajitvā pi no putto mantam gaṇhātu, gaṇetvā pun' āgacchatīti maññamānā: Gaṇha puttāti anujānimsu. Atha kho āyasmā Rohaṇo Nāgasenaṃ dārakaṃ ādāya yena Vattaniyaṃ senāsanaṃ yena Vijambhavatthu ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā Vijambhavatthusmiṃ senāsane ekarattim vasitvā yena Rakkhitatalaṃ ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā koṭisa-tānaṃ arahantānaṃ majjhe Nāgasenaṃ dārakaṃ pabbājesi. Pabbajito ca pan' āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantaṃ Rohaṇaṃ etad - avoca: Gaṇito me bhante tava vesō, detha me dāni mantan - ti. Atha kho āyasmā Rohaṇo: kimhi nu kho 'haṃ Nāgasenaṃ paṭhamam vineyyam, Suttante vā Abhidhamme vā ti cintetvā: paṇḍito kho ayaṃ Nāgaseno, sakkoti sukhen' eva Abhidhammaṃ pari-yāpuṇitun - ti paṭhamam Abhidhamme vinesi. Āyasmā ca Nāgaseno: kusalā dhammā akusalā dhammā abyākata dhammā ti tika-duka-patimaṇḍitaṃ Dhammasaṅgaṇim, khandhavibhaṅgādi-aṭṭhārasa-vibhaṅga-patimaṇḍitaṃ Vibhaṅgappakaraṇaṃ, sangaho asangaho ti-ādinā cudda-savidhena vibhattaṃ Dhātukathāpakaraṇaṃ, khandha-paññatti-āyatanapaññattīti-ādinā chabbidhena vibhattaṃ Puggalapaññattim, sakavāde pañca suttasatāni paravāde pañca suttasatānīti suttasahassaṃ samodhānetvā vibhattaṃ Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṃ, mūlayamakaṃ khandhayama-kan - ti-ādinā dasavidhena vibhattaṃ Yamakaṃ, hetu-paccayo ārammaṇapaccayo ti-ādinā catuvīsatividhena vibhattaṃ Paṭṭhānappakaraṇaṃ - ti sabban - taṃ Abhi-dhammapiṭakam eken' eva sajjhāyena paṇaṃ katvā:

Titṭhatha bhante, na puna osāretha, ettaken' evāhaṃ sajjhāyissāmīti āha.

Ath' āyasmā Nāgaseno yena koṭisatā arahanto ten' upasankami, upasankamivā koṭisatānaṃ arahantānaṃ etad - avoca: Ahaṃ kho bhante kusalā dhammā akusalā dhammā abyākatā dhammā ti imesu tīsu padesu pakkhipivā sabban - taṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ vitthārena osāressāmīti. — Sādhu Nāgasena, osārehīti. — Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno satta māsāni satta - ppakaraṇe vitthārena osāresi; paṭhaviṃ unnadi, devatā sādhuṃkāraṃ - adamsu, brahmāno apphoṭhesuṃ, dibbāni candanacūṇṇāni dibbāni ca mandāravapupphāni abhippayassimsu. Atha kho koṭisatā arahanto āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ paripunṇavāsativassaṃ Rakkhitatale upasampādesuṃ. Upasampanno ca pan' āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā rattiyaṃ accayena pubbanhasamayaṃ nivāsetvā pattacivaram - ādāya upajjhāyena saddhiṃ gāmaṃ piṇḍāya pavisanto evarūpaṃ parivitakkaṃ uppādesi: tuccho vata me upajjhāyo, bālo vata me upajjhāyo, ṭhapetvā avasesaṃ buddhavacanaṃ paṭhamaṃ maṃ Abhidhamme vinesīti. Atha kho āyasmā Rohaṇo āyasmato Nāgasenassa cetasā cetoparivitakkam - aññāya āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad - avoca: Ananucchaviyaṃ kho Nāgasena parivitakkaṃ vitakkesi, na kho pan' etaṃ Nāgasena ta - vānucchaviyaṃ - ti. Atha kho āyasmato Nāgasenassa etad - aho: acchariyaṃ vata bho, abbhutaṃ vata bho, yatra hi nāma me upajjhāyo cetasā cetoparivitakkaṃ jānissati, paṇḍito vata me upajjhāyo, yaṇ - nūnāhaṃ upajjhāyaṃ khamāpeyyaṃ - ti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantaṃ Rohaṇaṃ etad - avoca: Khamatha me bhante, na puna evarūpaṃ vitakkessāmīti.

Atha kho āyasmā Rohaṇo āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ

¹¹ apphoṭhesuṃ D, appoṭhesuṃ ABC. ¹⁵ pubbaṇha - all throughout except B.

etad - avoca: Na kho tyāhaṃ Nāgasena ettāvatā khamāmi, atthi kho Nāgasena Sāgalaṃ nāma nagaraṃ, tattha Milindo nāma rājā rajjaṃ kāreti, so diṭṭhivādena pañhaṃ pucchitvā bhikkhusanghaṃ viheṭṭeti, sace tvaṃ tattha gantvā taṃ rājānaṃ dametvā pasādessasi evāhan - taṃ khamissāmīti. — Tiṭṭhatu bhante eko Milindo rājā, sace bhante sakala-Jambudīpe sabbe rājāno āgantvā maṃ pañhaṃ puccheyyumaṃ sabbaṃ - taṃ vissajjetvā sampadālessāmi, khamatha me bhante ti vatvā: Na khamāmīti vutte: Tena hi bhante imaṃ temāsaṃ kassa santike vasissāmīti āha. — Ayaṃ kho Nāgasena āyasmā Assagutto Vattaniye senāsane viharati, gaccha tvaṃ Nāgasena, yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankama, upasankamitvā mama vacanena āyasmato Assaguttassa pāde sirasā vanda, evaṃ - ca naṃ vadehi: upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākaṃ pāde sirasā vandati, appābādhaṃ appātankaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ pucchati, imaṃ temāsaṃ tumhākaṃ santike vasitumaṃ maṃ pahiṇīti; konāmo te upajjhāyo ti ca vutte: Rohaṇatthero nāma bhante ti vadeyyāsi; ahaṃ konāmo ti ca vutte evaṃ vadeyyāsi: mama upajjhāyo bhante tumhākaṃ nāmaṃ jānātīti. Evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantaṃ Rohaṇaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pattacīvaram - ādāya anupubbena cārikaṃ caramāno yena Vattaniyaṃ senāsanaṃ yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ tthito kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ etad - avoca: Upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākaṃ pāde sirasā vandati, evaṃ - ca vadeti: appābādhaṃ appātankaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ pucchati, upajjhāyo maṃ bhante imaṃ temāsaṃ tumhākaṃ santike vasitumaṃ pahiṇīti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad - avoca:

Tvaṃ kinnāmo 'sīti. — Ahaṃ bhante Nāgaseno nāmāti. — Konāmo te upajjhāyo ti. — Upajjhāyo me bhante Rohaṇatthero nāmāti. — Ahaṃ konāmo ti. — Upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākaṃ nāmaṃ jānātīti. — Sādhū Nāgasena, pattacīvaraṃ paṭisāmeḥīti. — Sādhū bhante ti pattacīvaraṃ paṭisāmetvā punadivase pariveṇaṃ sammajjitvā mukhodakaṃ dantapoṇaṃ upatthāpesi. Thero sammaṭṭatthānaṃ paṭisammajji, taṃ udakaṃ chaḍḍetvā aññaṃ udakaṃ āhari, tañ-ca dantakatthāṃ apanetvā aññaṃ dantakatthāṃ gaṇhi, na allāpasallāpaṃ akāsi. Evaṃ satta dīvasāni katvā sattame divase puna pucchitvā puna tena tath' eva vutte vassāvāsaṃ anujāni.

Tena kho pana samayena ekā mahāupāsikā āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ tiṃsamattāni vassāni upatthāsi. Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā temāsaccayena yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ etad-avoca: Atthi nu kho tāta tumhākaṃ santike añño bhikkhūti. — Atthi mahāupāsike amhākaṃ santike Nāgaseno nāma bhikkhūti. — Tena hi tāta Assagutta adhivāsehi Nāgasenena saddhiṃ svātanāya bhattan-ti. — Adhivāsesi kho āyasmā Assagutto tuṇhībhaveṇa. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto tassā rattiya accayena pubbanhasamayāṃ nivāsetvā pattacīvaram-ādāya āyasmatā Nāgasenena saddhiṃ pacchāsamaṇena yena mahāupāsikāya nivesanaṃ ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā paññatte āsāne nisīdi. Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ āyasmantañ-ca Nāgasenaṃ pañitena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto bhuttāvi onītapattapāṇi āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad-avoca: Tvaṃ Nāgasena mahāupāsikāya anumodanaṃ karohīti. Idaṃ vatvā utthāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

⁷ sammaddhatthānaṃ B, sammatthattthānaṃ Ca, sammajjatthānaṃ DM, sammajjanatthānaṃ ACb. ²⁷ āyasmantañca Nāgasenañca BC, āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenañca A.

Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad-avoca: Mahallikā kho 'haṃ tāta Nāgasena, gambhīrāya dhammakathāya mayhaṃ anumodanaṃ karohīti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā mahāupāsikāya gambhīrāya Abhidhammakathāya lokuttarāya suññatāpaṭisaṃyuttāya anumodanaṃ akāsi. Atha kho tassā mahāupāsikāya tasmim̐ yeva āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ udapādi: yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ sabbaṃ - taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ - ti. Āyasmā pi kho Nāgaseno tassā mahāupāsikāya anumodanaṃ katvā attanā desitaṃ dhammaṃ paccavekkhanto vipassanaṃ paṭṭhapetvā tasmim̐ yeva āsane nisinno sotāpattiphale patitthāsi.

Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto maṇḍalamāle nisinno va dvinnam - pi dhammacakkhupaṭilābhaṃ ñatvā sādhu-kāraṃ pavattesi: Sādhu sādhu Nāgasena, ekena kaṇḍappahārena dve mahākāyā padālitaṃ ti. Anekāni ca devatāsahassāni sādhu-kāraṃ pavattesuṃ. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno utthāy' āsanā yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ āyasmā Assagutto etad-avoca: Gaccha tvaṃ Nāgasena Pāṭaliputtaṃ, Pāṭaliputtanagare Aso-kārāme āyasmā Dhammarakkhito paṭivasati, tassa santike buddhavacanaṃ pariyāpuṇāhīti. — Kīva dūre bhante ito Pāṭaliputtanagaran - ti. — Yojanasatāni kho Nāgasenāti. — Dūro kho bhante maggo, antarāmagge bhikkhā dullabhā, kathāhaṃ gamissāmīti. — Gaccha tvaṃ Nāgasena, antarāmagge piṇḍapātaṃ labhissasi, sālīnaṃ odanaṃ vicitakālakaṃ anekasūpāṃ anekabyañjanaṃ - ti. — Evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantaṃ Assaguttaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pattacīvaram - ādāya yena Pāṭaliputtaṃ tena cārikaṃ pakkāmi.

⁷ ñeva B. ²⁴ dūro ABCD. ²⁵ Tiyojanasatāni should probably be the reading.

Tena kho pana samayena Pāṭaliputtako seṭṭhi pañ-
 cahi sakatasatehi Pāṭaliputtagāmimaggaṃ paṭipanno hoti.
 Addasā kho Pāṭaliputtako seṭṭhi āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ
 dūrato va āgacchantaṃ, disvāna pañca sakatasatāni paṭi-
 pañāmetvā yen' āyasmā Nāgaseno ten' upasankami, upa-
 sankamitvā āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ abhivādetvā: Kuhiṃ
 gacchasi tātāti āha. — Pāṭaliputtaṃ gahapatīti. — Sādhū
 tāta, mayam - pi Pāṭaliputtaṃ gacchāma, amhehi saddhiṃ
 sukhaṃ gacchathāti. — Atha kho Pāṭaliputtako seṭṭhi
 āyasmato Nāgasenassa iriyāpathe pasīditvā āyasmantaṃ
 Nāgasenaṃ pañītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā
 santappetvā sampavāretvā āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ bhut-
 tāvhiṃ onītapattapāṇiṃ aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā
 ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Pāṭali-
 puttako seṭṭhi āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad - avoca:
 Kinnāmo si tvaṃ tātāti. — Ahaṃ gahapati Nāgaseno
 nāmāti. — Jānāsi kho tvaṃ tāta buddhavacanaṃ nāmāti.
 — Jānāmi kho 'haṃ gahapati Abhidhammapadānīti. —
 Lābhā no tāta, suladdhaṃ no tāta, aham - pi kho tāta
 ābhidhammiko tvaṃ - pi ābhidhammiko, bhaṇa tāta Abhi-
 dhammapadānīti. — Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno Pā-
 ṭaliputtakassa seṭṭhissa Abhidhammaṃ desesi,¹⁹ desente
 desente yeva Pāṭaliputtakassa seṭṭhissa virajaṃ vītamalaṃ
 dhammacakkhuṃ udapādi: yaṃ kinci samudayadhammaṃ
 sabbaṃ - taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ - ti. Atha kho Pāṭaliputtako
 seṭṭhi pañcamattāni sakatasatāni purato uyyojetvā sayāṃ
 pacchato gacchanto Pāṭaliputtassa avidūre dvedhāpathe
 thatvā āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad - avoca: Ayaṃ kho
 tāta Nāgasena Asokārāmassa maggo; imaṃ kho tāta may-
 haṃ kambalaratanaṃ soḷasahatthaṃ āyāmena aṭṭhahat-
 thaṃ vitthārena, patigaṇhāhi kho tāta imaṃ kambalara-

¹⁹ onītapattapāṇiṃ disvā M. ²⁰ ābhidhammiko AOM the first time,
 CM the second. ²⁰ bhaṇatha ACbM. ²³ desente, once CD. ²⁹ idaṃ AC.

tanam anukampaṃ upādāyāti. Paṭiggahehi kho āyasmā Nāgaseno taṃ kambalaratanam anukampaṃ upādāya. Atha kho Pāṭaliputtako seṭṭhi attamano udaggo pamuditahadayo pītisomanassajāto āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno yena Asokārāmo yen' āyasmā Dhammarakkhito ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantaṃ Dhammarakkhitaṃ abhivādetvā attano āgata-kāraṇaṃ kathetvā āyasmato Dhammarakkhitassa santike tepītaṃ buddhavacanaṃ eken' eva uddesena tīhi māsehi byañjanato pariyāpunitvā puna tīhi māsehi atthato manasākāsi. Atha kho āyasmā Dhammarakkhito' āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad - avoca: Seyyathā pi Nāgasena gopālako gāvo rakkhati, aññe gorasaṃ paribhuñjanti, evam - eva kho tvaṃ Nāgasena tepītaṃ buddhavacanaṃ dhārento pi na bhāgi sāmāññassāti. — Hotu bhante, alaṃ ettakenāti ten' eva divasabhāgena tena rattibhāgena saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Saha saccapaṭivedhena āyasmato Nāgasenassa sabbe devā sādhu-kāram - adamsu, paṭhavī unnadi, brahmāno apphotesuṃ, dibbāni candana-cuṇṇāni c' eva dibbāni ca mandāravapupphāni abhippavassimsu.

Tena kho pana samayena koṭisatā arahanto Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale sannipatitvā āyasmato Nāgasenassa santike dūtaṃ pāhesuṃ: āgacchatu Nāgaseno, dassanakāmā mayaṃ Nāgasena - ti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno dūtaṃ vacanaṃ sutvā Asokārāme antarahito Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale koṭisatānaṃ arahantaṃ purato pāturahosi. Atha kho koṭisatā arahanto āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad - avocuṃ: Eso kho Nāgasena Milindo rājā bhikkhusaṅghaṃ viheṭheti vādapativādēna pañhapucchāya; sādhu Nāgasena, gaccha tvaṃ Milindaṃ

²⁰ apphotesuṃ ABCD. ²¹ mandārapupphāni C

rājānaṃ damehīti. — Tiṭṭhatu bhante eko Milindo rājā, sace bhante sakala-Jambudīpe rājāno āgantvā maṃ pañhaṃ puccheyyūṃ sabbaṃ - taṃ vissajjetvā sampadālessāmi, gacchatha vo bhante asambhītā Sāgalanagaran - ti. — Atha kho therā bhikkhū Sāgalanagaram kāsāvapajjotaṃ isivā-taparivātaṃ akaṃsu.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Ayupālo Sankheyyapariveṇe paṭivasati. Atha kho Milindo rājā amacce etad - avoca: Ramanīyā vata bho dosinā ratti, kaṇ - nu khv - ajja samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā upasankameyyāma sākacchāya pañhapucchanāya, ko mayā saddhiṃ salla-pitum ussahati kankhaṃ paṭivinetuṃ - ti. Evaṃ vutte pañcasatā Yonakā rājānaṃ Milindaṃ etad - avocuṃ: Atthi mahārāja Āyupālo nāma thero tepitako bahussuto āga-tāgamo, so etarahi Sankheyyapariveṇe paṭivasati, gaccha tvaṃ mahārāja, āyasmantaṃ Āyupālaṃ pañhaṃ pucchassūti. — Tena hi bhāṇe bhaddantassa ārocethāti. — Atha kho nemittiko āyasmato Āyupālassa santike dūtaṃ pāhesi: rājā bhante Milindo āyasmantaṃ Āyupālaṃ dassana-kāmo ti. Āyasmā pi kho Āyupālo evaṃ - āha: Tena hi āgacchatūti. Atha kho Milindo rājā pañcamattehi Yonakasatehi parivuto rathavaram - āruya yena Sankheyyapariveṇaṃ yen' āyasmā Ayupālo ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmatā Ayupālena saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Milindo rāja āyasmantaṃ Āyupālaṃ etad - avoca: Kimatthiyā bhante Āyupāla tumhākaṃ pabbajjā, ko ca tumhākaṃ paramattho ti. — Thero āha: Dhammacariyasamacariyatthā kho mahārāja pabbajjā ti. — Atthi pana bhante koci gihī pi dhammacārī samacārī ti. — Ama mahārāja, atthi gihī pi dhammacārī samacārī. Bhagavati kho mahārāja Bārāṇa-

⁹ kinu CDM. ¹⁸ nemittako DM. ³² bhagavatā ABCD.

siyaṃ Isipatane migadāye dhammacakkaṃ pavattente aṭṭhārasannaṃ brahmakotṭīnaṃ dhammābhisamayo ahoṣi, devatānaṃ pana dhammābhisamayo gaṇanapathaṃ vīti-vatto; sabbe te gihibhūtā na pabbajitā. Puna ca paraṃ mahārāja Bhagavatā Mahāsamayasuttante desiyamāne, Mahāmangalasuttante desiyamāne, Samacittapariyāyasuttante desiyamāne, Rāhulovādasuttante desiyamāne, Parābhavasuttante desiyamāne gaṇanapathaṃ - atītānaṃ devatānaṃ dhammābhisamayo ahoṣi; sabbe te gihibhūtā na pabbajitā ti. — Tena hi bhante Āyupāla niratthikā tumhākaṃ pabbajjā, pubbe katassa pāpakammaṃ nissandena samaṇā Sakyaputtiyā pabbajanti dhutagāni ca pariharanti. Ye kho te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū ekāsānikā nūna te pubbe paresaṃ bhogahārakā corā, te paresaṃ bhoge acchinditvā tassa kammaṃ nissandena etarahi ekāsānikā bhavanti, na labhanti kālāna kālānaṃ paribhuñjitum, na - tthi tesāṃ sīlaṃ, na - tthi tapo, na - tthi brahmacariyaṃ. Ye kho pana te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū abbhokāsikā nūna te pubbe gāmaghātakā corā, te paresaṃ gehāni vināsetvā tassa kammaṃ nissandena etarahi abbhokāsikā bhavanti, na labhanti senāsānāni paribhuñjitum, na - tthi tesāṃ sīlaṃ, na - tthi tapo, na - tthi brahmacariyaṃ. Ye kho pana te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū nesajjikā nūna te pubbe panthadūsakā corā, te panthike jane gahetvā bandhitvā nisīdāpetvā tassa kammaṃ nissandena etarahi nesajjikā bhavanti, na labhanti seyyaṃ kappetum, na - tthi tesāṃ sīlaṃ, na - tthi tapo, na - tthi brahmacariyaṃ - ti āha.

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Āyupālo tuṇhī ahoṣi, na kiñci paṭibhāsi. Atha kho pañcasatā Yonakā rājānaṃ Milindaṃ etad - avocuṃ: Paṇḍito mahārāja thero, api ca kho avisārado na kiñci paṭibhāsatīti. Atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṃ Āyupālaṃ tuṇhībhūtaṃ disvā apphotetvā

²³ pana om. ABC. ³² apphotetvā C, appoṭhetvā AB.

ukkuṭṭhīm katvā Yonake etad - avoca: Tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo, palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo, na - tthi koci samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhīm sallapitum ussahati kankham paṭivinetum - ti. Atha kho Milindassa raṇṇo sabban - taṃ parisam anuvilokentassa abhīte aman - kubhūte Yonake disvā etad - ahosi: nissamsayaṃ atthi maññe añño koci paṇḍito bhikkhu yo mayā saddhīm sallapitum ussahati, yen' ime Yonakā na mankubhūtā ti. Atha kho Milindo rājā Yoṇake etad - avoca: Atthi bhāṇe añño koci paṇḍito bhikkhu yo mayā saddhīm sallapitum ussahati kankham paṭivinetum - ti.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno samaṇa - gaṇaparivuto sanghī gaṇi gaṇācariyo ñāto yasassī sādhu - sammato bahujaṇassa paṇḍito byatto medhāvī nipuṇo viññū vibhāvī vinīto visārado bahussuto tepitako vedagū pabhinna - buddhimā āgatāgamo pabhinna - paṭisambhido na - vanga - satthusāsana - pariyattidhāro pāramippatto jina - vacane dhammattha - desanā - paṭivedha - kusalo akkhaya - vicitra - paṭibhāno citrakathī kalyāṇavākkaraṇo durāsado duppasaho duruttaro durāvaraṇo dunnivārayo, sāgaro viya akkhobbho, girirājā viya niccalo, raṇaṇjaho tamonudo pabhankaro, mahākathī paragaṇigaṇa - mathano paratit - thiya - maddano, bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ upāsakānaṃ upāsikānaṃ rājūnaṃ rājamahāmattānaṃ sakkato garukato mānito pūjito apacito, lābhī cīvara - piṇḍapāta - senāsana - gilānappaccaya - bhesajja - parikkhārānaṃ lābhagga - yasagga - ppatto, buddhānaṃ viññūnaṃ sotā - vadhānena samannāga - tānaṃ sandassento navagaṇaṃ jina - sāsana - ratanaṃ, upadi - santo dhamma - māggaṃ, dhārento dhamma - pajjotaṃ, ussā - pento dhamma - yūpaṃ, yajanto dhamma - yāgaṃ, paggaṇ - hāpento dhamma - dhajaṃ, ussāpento dhamma - ketaṃ, uppa - jāsentō dhamma - sankhaṃ, āhananto dhamma - bheriṃ, nadanto

⁶ nissamsayaṃ kho atthi A. ²¹ raṇaṇjaho viya Bb. ²² paratitthiya - ppamaddano AC. ²⁸ uddisanto D, upadassento M. ²⁹ dhammakhaggam AaBCD. ³⁰ uppalāpentō ACD, upadassento M.

sīhanādaṃ, gajjanto indagajjitaṃ, madhura-gira-gajjitena
 ñānavaravijjajāla-parivethitena karuṇājāla-bharitena ma-
 hatā dhammāmata-meghena sakalalokam - abhitappayanto,
 gāma-nigama-rājadhānīsu cārikaṃ caramāno anupubbena
 Sāgalanagaram anuppatto hoti. Tatra sudaṃ āyasmā
 Nāgaseno asītiyā bhikkhusahashehi saddhiṃ Sankheyya-
 pariveṇe paṭivasati. Ten' āhu:

Bahussuto citrakathī nipuṇo ca visārado
 sāmāyiko ca kusalo paṭibhāne ca kovido.

Te ca teṭṭakā bhikkhū pañcanekāyikā pi ca
 catunekāyikā c' eva Nāgasenaṃ purakkharuṃ.

Gambhīrapaṇṇo medhāvī maggāmaggassa kovido
 uttamatthaṃ anuppatto Nāgaseno visārado

Tehi bhikkhūhi parivuto nipuṇehi saccavādihi
 caranto gāmanigamaṃ Sāgalaṃ upasankami.

Sankheyyapariveṇasmīṃ Nāgaseno tadā vasi,
 katheti so manussehi pabbate kesarī yathā ti.

Atha kho Devamantiyo rājānaṃ Milindaṃ etad-avoca:
 Agamehi tvaṃ mahārāja, āgamehi tvaṃ mahārāja, atthi
 mahārāja Nāgaseno nāma thero paṇḍito byatto medhāvī
 vinīto visārado bahussuto citrakathī kalyāṇapaṭibhāno,
 attha-dhamma-nirutti-paṭibhāna-paṭisambhidāsu pāramip-
 patto, so etarahi Sankheyyapariveṇe paṭivasati, gaccha
 tvaṃ mahārāja, āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ pañhaṃ puc-
 chassu, ussahati so tayā saddhiṃ sallapitum kaṅkhaṃ
 paṭivinetun - ti. Atha kho Milindassa raṇṇo sahasā Nā-
 gaseno ti saddaṃ sutvā va ahud - eva bhayaṃ, ahud -
 eva chambhitattaṃ, ahud - eva lomahaṃso. Atha kho
 Milindo rājā Devamantiyaṃ etad-avoca: Ussahati bho
 Nāgaseno bhikkhu mayā saddhiṃ sallapitun - ti. — Ussa-
 hati mahārāja api Inda-Yama-Varuṇa-Kuvera-Pajāpati-

² -vijjulātāpari- A. ³ sakalaṃ AC. ⁴ -dhānisu ABC.

Suyāma-Santusitalokapālehi pitupitāmahena Mahābrahmunā pi saddhiṃ sallapitum, kimanga pana manussa-bhūtenāti. — Atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyaṃ etad - avoca: Tena hi tvaṃ Devamantiya bhadantassa santike dūtaṃ pesehīti. Evaṃ devāti kho Devamantiyo āyasmato Nāgasenassa santike dūtaṃ pāhesi: rājā bhante Milindo āyasmantaṃ dassanakāmo ti. Āyasmā pi kho Nāgaseno evam - āha: Tena hi āgacchatūti. Atha kho Milindo rājā pañcamattehi Yonakasatehi parivuto rathavaram - āruyha mahatā balakāyena saddhiṃ yena Sankheyyapari-venam yen' āyasmā Nāgaseno ten' upasankami.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno asītiyā bhikkhusahashehi saddhiṃ maṇḍalamāle nisinno hoti. Addasā kho Milindo rājā āyasmato Nāgasenassa parisāṃ dūrato va, disvāna Devamantiyaṃ etad - avoca: Kass' esā Devamantiya mahatī parisā ti. — Āyasmato kho mahā - rāja Nāgasenassa parisā ti. — Atha kho Milindassa rañño āyasmato Nāgasenassa parisāṃ dūrato va disvā ahud - eva bhayaṃ, ahud - eva chambhitattaṃ, ahud - eva lomahaṃso. Atha kho Milindo rājā, khaggaparivārīto viya gajo, garuḷaparivārīto viya nāgo, ajagaraparivārīto viya kotthuko, mahisaparivārīto viya accho, nāgānubaddho viya maṇḍūko, saddulānubaddho viya migo, ahigunṭhika - samāgato viya pannago, majjārasamāgato viya unduro, bhūtavejjasamāgato viya pisāco, Rāhumukhogato viya cando, pannago viya pelantaragato, sakuno viya pañja - rantaragato, maccho viya jālantaragato, vāḷavanam - anup - pavitṭho viya puriso, Vessavaṇāparādhiko viya yakkho, parikkhīṇāyuko viya devaputto, bhīto ubbiggo utraṣṭo saṃviggo lomahatṭhajāto vimano dummano bhantacitto vipariṇatamānaso: mā maṃ ayaṃ jano paribhavīti dhiṭṭiṃ upaṭṭhapetvā Devamantiyaṃ etad - avoca: Mā kho tvaṃ

¹⁰ mahatā ca AC. ¹³ -sahasena all. ²³ maṇḍūko CM. ²³ saddulā - C.

Devamantiya āyasmantañ Nāgasenañ mayhañ ācikkhey-
yāsi, anakkhātāñ -ñevāhañ Nāgasenañ jānissāmīti. —
Sādhū mahārāja, tvañ -ñevā jānāhīti.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā
bhikkhuparisāya purato cattālīsāya bhikkhusahassānañ
navakataro hoti, pacchato cattālīsāya bhikkhusahassānañ
buḍḍhataro. Atha kho Milindo rājā sabban - tañ bhik-
khusanghañ purato ca pacchato ca majjhato ca anuvilo-
kento addasā kho āyasmantañ Nāgasenañ dūrato va
bhikkhusanghassa majjhe nisinnañ, kesarasīhañ viya
vigatabhayabheravañ vigatalomahañsañ vigatabhayasā-
rajjāñ, disvāna ākāren' eva aññāsi: eso kho ettha Nā-
gaseno ti. Atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyañ etad -
avoca: Eso kho Devamantiya āyasmā Nāgaseno ti. —
Āma mahārāja, eso kho Nāgaseno, 'sutṭhu kho tvañ ma-
hārāja Nāgasenañ aññāsīti. — Tato rājā tutṭho ahosi:
anakkhāto va mayā Nāgaseno aññāto ti. Atha kho Mi-
lindassa rañño āyasmantañ Nāgasenañ disvā va ahud -
eva bhayañ, ahud - eva chambhitattañ, ahud - eva loma-
hañso. Ten' āhu:

Carāṇena c' eva sampannañ, sudantañ uttame dame,
disvā rājā Nāgasenañ idañ vacanam - abravi:

Kathikā mayā bahū diṭṭhā, sākacchā osaṭṭa bahū,
na tādisañ bhayañ āsi ajja tāso yathā mama.

Nissañsayā parājayo mama ajja bhavissati,
jayo ca Nāgasenassa, yathā cittañ na saññhitañ - ti.

Bāhirakathā niṭṭhitā.

¹⁴ eso kho mahārāja Nāgaseno BC. ²² abruvī AC. ²⁶ jayo va AC.

TRANSLATION.

King Milinda, of the excellent city of Sāgala, went to Nāgasena, as the Ganges rushes to the ocean.

After approaching that eloquent torchbearer, that dispeller of darkness, the king propounded to him many sagacious questions, turning on a variety of points.

And the answers given to those questions were of profound sense, gratifying and pleasing to hear, wonderful and stupendous.

Diving deeply into the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya, equal to make out the intricacies of the Sutta-piṭaka, Nāgasena's discourse glittered with similes and syllogisms.

Apply your whole soul to it, and make your hearts rejoice, by hearing the clever discussions, which will solve any doubtful points..

As handed down by tradition. — There is in the country of the Yonakas a fortified city called Sāgala, surrounded with a number of dependent towns, situated in a delightful country, adorned with rivers and hills, abounding in gardens, groves, woods, lakes, and tanks, a paradise of rivers, mountains, and forests, inhabited by a pious population, who know of no oppression, because all enemies

have been put down. The city is defended by a multiplicity of strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and archways. The royal castle is surrounded by deep trenches and white walls. Streets, squares, cross roads, and market places, are well laid out; the bazars are filled with well-displayed merchandise of innumerable sorts. Among the principal ornaments of the city are several hundreds of alms-halls; next come hundreds of thousands of glorious palaces, vying in height with the peaks of the Himalaya. The streets are crowded with elephants, horses, carriages, and foot passengers; men and women of the greatest beauty are to be met with. The city is extremely populous, being inhabited by vast numbers of kshatriyas, brahmans, vaiṣṇavas, and gūdras, resounding with the welcome offered to different sects of ascetics and brahmans, resorted to by the greatest masters of the various arts and sciences. There are shops of every kind of stuffs, such as those from Bārāṇasī and Koṭumbara, and odours exhaling from the shops of well-displayed, beautiful, and manifold flowers and scents, perfume the whole town, which besides abounds in the most magnificent jewels. It is thronged with cloth merchants having shops gaily decked and facing the four quarters. Coined money, silver and gold vessels, and precious stones, abound there; it is the very home of dazzling treasures. There is plenty of wealth, grain, furnitures, utensils; stores and warehouses are well filled, nor is there any lack of multifarious provisions, of hard and soft food, of syrups, beverages, and sweetmeats. It is like Uttarakuru, it resembles Ālakamandā, the city of the Gods.

Here we must stop to relate the previous history of those two persons (Milinda and Nāgasena), which must be done by dividing the subject into six parts, viz., the Pubbayoga (or merits acquired in former existences), the Mi-

linda questions, the discussion on definitions, the equivocal problems, the questions concerning inductions, and the discussion of similarities. The Milinda questions again are twofold: those turning on definitions, and those aiming at dispelling of doubt. The equivocal problems likewise are twofold: the great chapter, and the discussion on yogis.

The Pabbayoga are the former deeds of those two persons. Namely, in times past, when the religion of Kassapa Buddha was in force, there lived in a certain monastery near the Ganges a great community of priests. These priests, true to established rules and duties, every morning took up the long-handled brooms, and while meditating on the qualities of Buddha, cleaned the courtyard and made the sweepings into a heap. One day a priest ordered a disciple to throw out the sweepings; he, as if not hearing, went about his business, and on being called to a second and a third time, still went on his way, as if not hearing. So the priest getting angry at his disobedience, dealt him a blow with the broomstick. This time, not daring to refuse, he set about his task crying; and while so doing, offered up this his first prayer: — In regard of the meritorious act of throwing out the sweepings, may I, in each successive place where I shall be reborn, until I shall attain Nirvāṇa, be glorious and powerful like the mid-day sun. When he had finished his work, he went to the riverside to bathe. On seeing the mighty billows of the Ganges in commotion, he offered up his second prayer: — In each successive place where I shall be reborn, until I shall attain Nirvāṇa, may I possess ever-ready and never-forsaking power of answering questions, (carrying every thing before me) like this mighty surge. Now the priest, after putting by the broom in the broom closet, as he likewise walked to the riverside to bathe, happened to overhear the disciple's prayer. It is on my

instigation, he reflected, that this person forms such a wish; what may not I expect to attain to? And so he prayed: — In each successive place where I shall be reborn, until I shall attain Nirvāṇa, may I possess imperishable readiness in answering questions, (carrying every thing before me) like this mighty surge of the Ganges; may I be able to make out and unravel any perplexing question asked by this young man. — These two persons passed one Buddhantara, going through the course of transmigrations among gods and men, and then they too, like Tissatthera, son of Moggali, were seen by our Bhagavat and had their future fate foretold by him: — Five hundred years after my death, these two shall reappear, and the Law and Discipline taught so subtly by me, they shall explain, unravelling and disentangling the difficulties by asking questions and by making similes.

Of the two, the disciple became the king of the city of Sāgala in Jambudvīpa, called Milinda, learned, eloquent, wise, clever in all things, a faithful observer of the various acts of worship and ceremony enjoined by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come, conversant with many sciences, as holy tradition and secular law, the Sankhya, Yoga, Nyāya, and Vaiśeṣika systems, arithmetic, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, the Itihāsas, astronomy, magic, logic (?), charming with spells, the different sorts of fighting, prosody, muddā, in a word the whole nineteen sciences; a disputer difficult to approach, difficult to master, superior to the mass of sect founders. And in all Jambudvīpa there was none like king Milinda for strength of body, swiftness, valour, (any more than) wisdom. (Besides he was) immensely rich, and his armies numberless.

One day king Milinda, being desirous to see his numberless army, consisting of the four hosts, pass in review

before him, went out of the city, and there ordered the army to be counted. Being fond of talking with people and engaging with them in philosophical disputes, the king after looking at the sun said to his ministers, — The day is not yet far advanced, what is the use of returning to town at so early an hour? Is there not some learned ascetic or brahman, a teacher with many disciples, even though he profess the doctrine of the holy Buddha, who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? — Then the five hundred Yonakas said to king Milinda, — There are the six masters: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhaputta, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kaccāyana; they are the teachers of many disciples, famous, renowned sect founders, highly approved of by the people; go, great king, ask them your questions and remove your doubts.

Then king Milinda, surrounded by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted the royal car, drawn by excellent horses, and went to where Pūraṇa Kassapa dwelled, engaged in friendly and familiar conversation with him, and then sat down apart. And sitting apart king Milinda said to Pūraṇa Kassapa, — Who, venerable Kassapa, governs the world? — The earth, great king, governs the world. — If, venerable K., the earth governs the world, then why do some men go to the Avīci hell, thus passing beyond the earth? — Thus addressed Pūraṇa Kassapa could neither swallow the question nor bring it up, but sat down crestfallen, silent, and groaning.

Then king Milinda said to Makkhali Gosāla, — Are there, venerable Gosāla, good and evil acts, have well and ill done acts their fruit, their maturity? — Good and evil acts, great king, are not, well and ill done acts have no fruit, no maturity; those who in this world are kshatriyas,

will after going to the next world again be kshatriyas, and so will brahmans, vaiçyas, çūdras, chaṇḍālas, pukkāsas after going to the next world again be brahmans, etc.; what then is the use of good or evil acts? — If, venerable Gosāla, those who in this world are kshatriyas, brahmans, etc., after going to the next world will again be kshatriyas, etc., if good and evil acts are of no use, — then, venerable G., those who in this world had a hand cut off, will in the next world again have a hand cut off, those who had ears and nose cut off, will have ears and nose cut off. — Thus addressed Makkhali Gosāla remained silent.

Then king Milinda thought within himself, — Jambudvīpa is certainly empty, Jambudvīpa is certainly like chaff, there is no ascetic nor brahman who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts. And then he said to his counsellors, — The night is moonlight and beautiful; what ascetic or brahman can we seek to ask our questions, who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? After these words the counsellors remained silent, and stood looking at the king's face.

At that time the city of Sāgala had for twelve years been void of learned ascetics and brahmans, and even laymen; but wherever the king heard that such persons dwelled, there he went and put his questions to them. But all, being unable to satisfy the king with the answers given to his questions, went on their respective ways, or, if they did not depart for some other place, at all events remained silent. The priests of Buddha, however, commonly went to the Himālaya.

At that time there lived a thousand millions of Arhats at Rakkhitātala in the Himālaya. The venerable Assagutta, having heard king Milinda's words by means of his divine power of hearing, ordered the priesthood to as-

semble on the top of the Yugandhara mountain, and asked them whether any priest was able to converse with king Milinda and remove his doubts. All the priests remained silent; and being asked a second time, again remained silent. Then the venerable Assagutta thus addressed the priesthood, — There is in the world of the thirty-three gods, east of the Vejayanta palace, a palace called Ketumati, there lives the god Mahāsena, he is able to converse with king Milinda and remove his doubts. — Then the thousand millions of Arhats vanished from mount Yugandhara and appeared in the world of the thirty-three gods.

Çakra, the lord of gods, from a distance saw those priests approaching, whereupon he went to meet the venerable Assagutta, and after saluting him placed himself apart. And standing apart Çakra, the lord of gods, said to the venerable Assagutta, — A great assemblage of priests, I see, has arrived; I am the servant of the priests, what do you want, what shall I do for you? — Then the venerable A. said to Çakra, the lord of gods, — Here, great king, is the king called Milinda in the city of Sāgala in Jambudvīpa, a disputer difficult to approach, difficult to master, superior to all the heads of the various sects; he is in the habit of visiting the priests and annoying them by asking questions of speculative import. — Then Çakra, the lord of gods, said to the venerable Assagutta, — That king Milinda, holy one, left this place to be reborn among men; but in the palace of Ketumati lives the god Mahāsena, he is able to dispute with that king Milinda and to remove his doubts; that god we will beseech to suffer himself to be reborn in the world of men. — So Çakra, the lord of gods, preceded by the priesthood, entered the Ketumati palace, and said to the god Mahāsena, after embracing him, — The priesthood beseeches thee, lord, to be reborn in

the world of men. — I have no desire for the world of men so occupied with action, the world of men is passionate; even here, in the world of gods, being reborn ever in a higher and higher stage I shall attain final emancipation. — On Çakra continuing to beseech him a second and a third time, the god M. said again, — I have no desire, etc.

Then the venerable Assagutta said to the god M., — On passing in review the worlds of gods and men, we see none but thee, lord, who is able to succour our religion by refuting the heresy of king Milinda; the priesthood, lord, beseeches thee, saying, We pray thee, pious one, suffer thyself to be reborn in the human world, and in our behalf lend the religion of Dasabala thy aid. — Thus addressed the god M., overjoyed to hear that he should be able to succour religion by refuting the heretical doctrines of king Milinda, gave his promise. — Well, venerable ones, I shall be reborn in the world of men.

Having performed that task, the priests vanished from the world of the thirty-three gods, and again appeared at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya. Then the venerable Assagutta said to the priesthood, — Is there in this congregation any priest who was not present at the assembly? — One of the priests replied, — The venerable Rohaṇa, holy one, seven days ago entered the Himālaya to give himself up to mortifying meditation; please to send a messenger to him. — At that very moment the venerable Rohaṇa arose from his meditation, and perceiving (by means of his superhuman faculties) that the priesthood were waiting for him, vanished from the Himālaya mountain and appeared at Rakkhitatala before the thousand millions of Arhats. Then the venerable Assagutta said to the venerable Rohaṇa, — How now, venerable Rohaṇa, the religion of Buddha is dissolving, and thou seest not what the priest-

hood have to do? — I was guilty of inadvertency. — Then, venerable R., atone for it. — What shall I do? — There is, venerable R., at the foot of the Himālaya range, a brahman village called Kajangala, there lives the brahman Soṇuttara, he shall obtain a son, the infant Nāgasena; to that house thou shalt go for alms for seven years and ten months, and after the lapse of that time thou shalt deliver him from a worldly life and make him an ascetic, and when he is made an ascetic, the term of thy punishment shall be over. — The venerable Rohaṇa signified his assent.

Now the god Mahāsena died from the world of gods, and was reborn in the womb of the brahman Soṇuttara's wife, and at the precise moment of regeneration, three wonderful and miraculous phenomena occurred: arms and weapons blazed, the tender crop ripened at once, and there was a shower of rain (out of season). And from the day of his new birth forward, the venerable Rohaṇa for seven years and ten months went to that house for alms, but never once he got so much as a spoonful of boiled rice, or a ladleful of sour gruel, or a greeting, or a holding out of the joined hands, or any sort of reverence; on the contrary, he received injuries and taunts. Nay, there was even no one who said so much as, Please to ask at the next house. But after the lapse of the seven years and ten months he one day happened to have these words addressed to him, Please to apply at the next house. On that very day the brahman, returning from his fields, saw the senior priest coming in an opposite direction, and said to him, — Have you been to our house, hermit? — Yes, brahman, we have. — Did you receive anything? — Yes, brahman, we did. — Displeased at this he went home, and asked whether they gave that hermit anything. We gave him nothing, said they. Next day the brahman sat

down at the door of his house, intending to reprove him for having told a lie. The senior priest arrived at the brahman's door, and the brahman no sooner saw him than he said thus: — You received nothing at our house yesterday, and yet you said you did; is lying worthy of you? — The senior priest said, — For seven years and ten months, brahman, we were never till yesterday told so much as, Please to apply at the next house; but from having been received with these kind words we said so. — The brahman thought, — After once receiving a kind word, these (priests) announce to all the world that they have received something; why should they not do as much after receiving eatables? — and highly pleased he ordered some spoon-food to be given him from the rice which had been prepared for himself, together with the necessary sauce, and said, — Such alms you will receive at all times. On seeing the subdued manners of the senior priest, who from the next day forward called regularly, he was still more pleased, and asked the priest always to make his repasts at his house. The priest assented in silence, and regularly day after day, after finishing his meal, and when about to depart, he pronounced a little of Buddha's words.

The brahman's wife after ten months brought forth a son, who received the name of Nāgasena, grew up, and in course of time attained the age of seven years. Then the father of young Nāgasena said to young Nāgasena, — Dost thou wish to learn the sciences traditional in this brahmanical house of ours? — Which are those, father? — The three Vedas are called sciences, the rest are called arts. — Well, then I will learn them. — Then the brahman Sṇuttara engaged a brahman to be the boy's teacher for a remuneration of one thousand pieces, and after accommodating him with a bed in the same room with the boy in the interior of the house, said to the teacher, —

Do thou, brahman, teach this boy the sacred hymns. And to the boy he said, — Dear boy, now learn the sacred hymns. The teacher repeated them, and after one repetition of them young Nāgasena had learned by heart the whole of the three Vedas, could repeat them, had understood them well, so as not to confound one with the other, and had committed them faithfully to memory; all at once he received the intuitive knowledge (necessary for comprehending them), and was verbally and grammatically versed in the three Vedas together with the Nighaṇṭu, Keṭubha, and Akkha-rappabheda, and the Itihāsas as a fifth part, and perfectly familiar with the Lokāyata system of philosophy, as well as the characteristics of men born to eminent greatness. Then young Nāgasena said to his father, — Is there anything more to be learned in this brahmanical family of ours, or only this much? — There is no more to be learned in this brahmanical family of ours, only this much. — Then young N., having applied himself zealously to his teacher's instruction, left the house, and by an impulse of his mind resulting from merit acquired in a previous life, sought solitude to give himself up to meditation, and as he reviewed the beginning, middle, and end of his acquirements, without seeing the least of substantiality either in the beginning or middle or end, he thought, — These Vedas are indeed empty and like chaff, devoid of essence and substantiality; — and felt regret and grief.

Now, at that time the venerable Rohaṇa, as he sat in his hermitage at Vattaniya, mentally perceiving the mental reflection of young N., put on his outer garment, took up his alms bowl and beggar's cloak, and vanishing from his hermitage at Vattaniya appeared outside the brahman village of Kajangala. Young N., who stood at the porch of his house, saw the venerable Rohaṇa approaching from a distance, and as he did so, was overjoyed in the hope that

in this ascetic he might at length have found one who knew what was essential. So he went up to the venerable Rohaṇa, and said to him, — Who art thou, lord, that thou art thus baldheaded, and wearest yellow robes? — I am an ascetic, boy. — Why, lord, hast thou become an ascetic? — An ascetic secedes to make the impurities of sin secede; therefore, boy, I have become an ascetic. — Why, lord, is not thy hair like that of others? — It was because I saw the sixteen impediments (to a holy life), that I cut off my hair and beard when I became an ascetic; which sixteen? The impediments of ornaments, of decking out, of using salves, of washing, of flower chaplets, of perfumes, of scents, of yellow myrobalan, of emblic myrobalan, of dyes, of ribbons, of combs, of barbers, of disentangling the clotted hair, of vermin; when the hair falls off, they feel grieved and are harassed, lament and cry, beating their chest, or even fall down in a swoon; — entangled by these sixteen impediments men will forget the most subtile sciences. — Why, lord, are also thy garments not like those of others? — (Worldly) clothes, boy, are inseparable from desire, belong to desire, are the marks of worldlings; whatever dangers arise from worldly clothes, he who puts on the yellow robe knows nothing of; therefore, neither are my garments like those of others. — Knowest thou, lord, the real science? — Yes, I know the real science, boy; and what is the best hymn in the world, that I know too. — Canst thou also give that to me? — I can, boy. — Then give it me. — This is no time, boy; we have entered the house for alms.

Then young Nāgasena, taking the alms bowl out of the venerable Rohaṇa's hand, led him into the house, and after satisfying him with excellent hard and soft food, attending him with his own hands, when he saw that the venerable R. had done eating, and had drawn his hand

out of his alms bowl, he said to him, — Now, lord, give me that hymn. — When thou shalt be without the impediments (to a holy life), boy, and after obtaining thy parents' consent thou shalt put on that monk's dress which I have put on, then I shall give it thee. — Then young N. went up to his parents and said, — This ascetic says he knows the hymn which is the best in the world, but will not give it to any one who will not retire from the world with him; I wish to retire from the world in his company, and learn that hymn. His parents gave their consent, for they wished him to learn the hymn, even at the cost of his retiring from the world, and they thought that after learning it he would come back again. Then the venerable R. took young N. with him and first went to his hermitage of Vattaniya, from thence to the hermitage of Vijambhavatthu, and after passing the night there, went to Rakkhitatala, and in the middle of the congregation of the ten millions of Arhats caused young N. to be ordained. Whereupon the venerable N. said to the venerable R., — I have put on thy dress, now give me the hymn. Then the venerable R. thought thus to himself: — In which shall I first instruct Nāgasena, in the Suttanta or the Abhidhamma? — and seeing that Nāgasena was intelligent, and could easily learn the Abhidhamma, he first instructed him in the Abhidhamma. And the venerable N., after having it repeated but once, knew by heart the whole Abhidhamma, viz. the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, which is ornamented with triads and dyads, such as “good things, bad things, indifferent things”; the Vibhaṅgapakaraṇa, which is ornamented with the eighteen explications, viz. the explications of the khandhas, etc.; the Dhātukathāpakaraṇa, distributed into fourteen parts, viz. comprehension, non-comprehension, etc.; the Puggalapaññatti, divided into six parts, viz. the declaration of khandhas, of āyatanas, etc.; the

Kathāvatthupakaraṇa, which is set forth by enumerating 1000 suttas, 500 according to (Buddha's) own views, 500 turning on those of others; the Yamaka, divided into ten parts: the fundamental dyads, the khandha-dyads, etc.; the Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa, divided into twenty-four parts: the hetu-paccaya, the ārammaṇa-paccaya, etc. And then he said to the venerable Rohaṇa, — Now stop, holy one, do not repeat it over again, this will suffice for me to recite it.

Then the venerable N. went to the ten millions of Arhats and said to them, — I wish to recite the entire Abhidhamma, without abridgment, so as to comprehend the whole of it in these three classes: good things, bad things, indifferent things. — Well, Nāgasena, recite it. — Then the venerable N. in seven months recited the seven books of Abhidhamma in full. The earth thundered, the gods signified their approval, the Brahmas clapped their hands, there came a shower of celestial powder of sandal and erythrina flowers. And then the ten millions of Arhats at Rakkhitatala consecrated the venerable N. for a priest, he having then filled his twentieth year. And being ordained a priest, the venerable N., after the lapse of that night, the next forenoon put on his garments and took up his bowl and beggar's cloak; and as in company with his teacher he was entering the village for alms, he called up within himself the following reflection: — My teacher is truly empty-headed and foolish, that he should first instruct me in the Abhidhamma, leaving aside the rest of Buddha's word. But then the venerable R., mentally perceiving the mental reflection of the venerable N., said to him, — Thou makest an unworthy reflection, Nāgasena, this is not worthy of thee. Then the venerable N. thought to himself, — Wonderful indeed, miraculous, that my teacher should mentally know my mental reflection, he is truly wise; I must propitiate my teacher. And then he

said to the venerable R., — Pardon me, holy one, I shall not again make any such reflection.

Then the venerable R. said to the venerable N., — I do not pardon thee all at once; but there is a city called Sāgala, there reigns king Milinda, he annoys the priesthood by asking questions of heretical import; if thou wilt go there and canst master the king and make a convert of him, then I shall pardon thee. — Not only king Milinda, holy one, but if all the kings of whole Jambudvīpa were to assemble and propose questions to me, I should by my answers crush all; only pardon me. — I shall not pardon thee (till then). — Then, holy one, with whom am I to dwell for these three months (of the rainy season)? — At the hermitage of Vattaniya, Nāgasena, lives the venerable Assagutta; do thou go to him, and in my name salute his feet with thy head, and say to him, — My teacher, holy one, salutes your feet with his head, and asks whether you are free from disease and illness, whether you are in vigour and force, and dwell agreeably; he sent me to live with you for these three months. When he shall ask, What is thy teacher's name? — thou shalt say, The therā Rohaṇa, holy one. When he shall say, What is my name? — thou shalt say, My teacher, holy one, knows your name. — Certainly holy one, said the venerable N., saluted the venerable R., went round him so as to present his right side to him, and took up his bowl and beggar's cloak. And wandering from place to place, he finally arrived at the Vattaniya hermitage where the venerable Assagutta dwelled, went up to him, and after greeting him placed himself apart. Standing apart the venerable N. said to the venerable A., — My teacher, holy one, salutes your feet with his head, and speaks thus: — he asks whether you are free from disease and illness, whether you are in vigour and force, and dwell agreeably; my teacher, holy

one, sent me to live with you for these three months. — Then the venerable A. said to the venerable N., — What is thy name? — My name, holy one, is Nāgasena. — What is thy teacher's name? — My teacher's name, holy one, is the therā R. — What is my name? — My teacher, holy one, knows your name. — Will, Nāgasena, put by thy bowl and cloak. — Well, holy one. — So saying he but by his bowl and cloak. The following day, after sweeping the hermit's cell, he placed water for rinsing the mouth and tooth-cleaners ready for use. The therā swept over again the place he had swept, threw away the water and fetched some other water, removed the tooth-cleaners and took some others, and did not speak a word to him. Thus having done for seven days, on the seventh day he again asked him those questions, was again answered in the same manner, and only then he allowed him to pass the rainy season with him.

At that time a certain distinguished female lay votary had for as long as thirty years administered to the wants of the venerable Assagutta. That female, after the lapse of the three months, went up to the venerable A. and said to him, — Is there any other priest with you, father? — There is with us, great devotee, a priest called Nāgasena. — Then, father Assagutta, consent to take your meal to-morrow (at my house), together with Nāgasena. — The venerable A. assented in silence. Then the venerable A., after the lapse of that night, the next forenoon put on his garments, took up his bowl and cloak, and together with the venerable N. as his follower went to the great female devotee's dwelling, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. Then that great female devotee satisfied the venerable A. and the venerable N. with excellent hard and soft food, attending them with her own hands. And the venerable A., when he had done eating and had drawn

his hand out of his bowl, said to the venerable N., — Do thou, N., express our thanks to the great female devotee. — After so saying, he arose from his seat and departed. Then that great female devotee said to the venerable N., — I am old, father Nāgasena; thank me by means of a profound religious discourse. — Then the venerable N. expressed his thanks to that great female devotee by means of a profound discourse on Abhidhamma, passing things mundane, turning on void. And at that very sitting the great female devotee received “the eye of the law,” free from dust and impurity, (viz. the knowledge that) whatever is in the predicament of having an origin, all that is also in the predicament of having a cessation. And the venerable N. himself, after thanking the great female devotee, by meditating on the discourse he had himself pronounced and thus acquiring the superior intelligence (*vipassanā*), at that very sitting gained the degree of a *sotāpanna*.

Then the venerable Assagutta, as sitting in the circular hall he perceived that both had acquired the eye of the law, signified his approval: — Excellent, excellent, Nāgasena! by one arrow-shot two great bodies have been pierced! And many thousands of gods likewise signified their approval.

Then the venerable N. arose from his seat and went to the venerable Assagutta, greeted him and sat down apart. As he sat apart, the venerable A. said to the venerable N., — Go thou, Nāgasena, in the Asokagarden, in the city of Pāṭaliputta, lives the venerable Dhammarakkhita; with him learn the word of Buddha. — How far, holy one, is the city of P. from this? — Three hundred *yojanas*, Nāgasena. — The distance is great, alms will be scarce as I go along; how shall I get there? — Go thou, Nāgasena, thou wilt find thy bowlful of alms as thou goest along, boiled rice from which the black grains have

been culled, with various sorts of broth and sauce. — Certainly, holy one, said the venerable N., greeted the venerable A., went round him presenting his right side to him, took up his bowl and cloak, and went on his beggar's way to Pāṭaliputta.

At that time a merchant of Pāṭaliputta was on his way back to Pāṭaliputta, with 500 waggons. Now the merchant saw the venerable N. coming from a distance, and as he saw him stopped his 500 waggons, saluted the venerable N., and asked him, — Whither art thou going, father? — To Pāṭaliputta, householder. — Well, father, we too are going to P.; go along with us, it will be more pleasant. — Then the Pāṭaliputta merchant, highly pleased with the venerable N.'s manners, satisfied him with excellent hard and soft food, waiting personally upon him, and when he saw the venerable N. had done eating and had drawn his hand out of his bowl, he took a low seat and sat down apart. And sitting apart the Pāṭaliputta merchant said to the venerable N., — What is thy name, father? — My name, householder, is N. — Dost thou, father, know Buddha's word? — I know, householder, the articles of the Abhidhamma. — We are indeed lucky, father, this is indeed an advantage, both I and thou are conversant with the Abhidhamma; do thou pronounce the articles of the Abhidhamma, father. — Then the venerable N. pronounced the Abhidhamma to the Pāṭaliputta merchant, and by degrees as he did so, the merchant received the eye of the law, (viz. the knowledge that) whatever is in the predicament of having an origin, all that is also in the predicament of having a cessation. Then the Pāṭaliputta merchant sent the 500 waggons in advance, and himself followed after. In a cross road not far from Pāṭaliputta he stopped and said to the venerable N., This father N., is the way to the garden of Asoka; here I have an excellent blanket,

sixteen cubits in length and eight in breadth, take pity on me and accept this excellent blanket. The venerable N. took pity on him and accepted the excellent blanket, and then the Pāṭaliputta merchant, pleased and glad, with joyful heart and full of content and happiness, saluted the venerable N., went round him so as to present his right side to him, and departed.

Then the venerable N. went to the venerable Dhammarakkhita in the garden of Asoka, and after saluting him and stating the cause of his arrival, from the mouth of the venerable Dh. he learned by heart the whole of the three baskets of Buddha's word in three months and after a single recital, so as to know them by heart according to the words, and in three months more he mastered the sense. Then the venerable Dh. said to the venerable N., — Even as the herdsman, Nāgasena, tends the cows, but another enjoys their produce, even so thou, though knowing by heart the three baskets of Buddha's word, art not a partaker of *çramaṇaship*. — Be it so, holy one, you have said enough, (said N.). In the course of that very day and night he attained Arhatship together with the *paṭi-sambhidās*, and at the moment of his penetrating the truths, all the gods shouted, Excellent, excellent; the earth thundered, the Brahma's clapped their hands, and there was a shower of celestial sandal powder and erythrina flowers.

At that time the ten millions of Arhats at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya assembled and sent a messenger to the venerable N., — Let N. come, we wish to see N. On hearing the messenger's words the venerable N. vanished from the garden of Asoka, and appeared at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya, before the ten millions of Arhats, who said to him, — That king Milinda annoys the priesthood by one heretical doctrine after the other, and by asking questions; well, N., go thou and master king Milinda. — Not only

king Milinda, holy ones, but if the kings of whole Jambudvīpa were to come and ask me questions, I should solve all those questions by my answers; do you, holy ones, go to the city of Sāgala without fear. — Then all the senior priests went to the city of Sāgala, lighting it with their yellow robes like lamps and making it respire the odour of saints.

At that time the venerable Āyupāla dwelled at the Sankheyyapariveṇa. Then king Milinda said to his counsellors, — It is a beautiful, moonlight night, what ṛamaṇa or brahman shall we go to now to have a conversation with him and to exchange questions and answers? who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? Thus addressed the 500 Yonakas said to king Milinda, — Great king, there is the senior priest Āyupāla, well versed in the three Piṭakas and all the traditional lore; he now dwells at the Sankheyyapariveṇa; go, great king, and ask the venerable Āyupāla your questions. — Well then, I say, announce my arrival to the bhaddanta. Then the royal astrologer sent a messenger to the venerable Āyupāla: — King Milinda, holy one, wishes to see the venerable Āyupāla. — And the venerable A. said, — Well, let him come. — Then king Milinda ascended his royal car, and surrounded by his 500 Yonakas went up to the venerable A. at the Sankheyyapariveṇa, with whom he engaged in friendly and amicable conversation, and then sat down apart. And sitting apart king M. said to the venerable A., — What, holy one, is the object of your ascetic life, and what is your highest aim? — The senior priest said, The object, great king, of our ascetic life, is to live according to the law, according to the subjugation of the senses. — Is there, holy one, any householder who lives according to the law, according to the subjugation of the senses? — Yes, great king, there are such householders. When, in

the park of Isipatana near Bārāṇasī, our holy teacher turned the wheel of the law, 180 millions of brahmins were converted to the law, but the number of gods converted is beyond computation. All those were householders, not monks. And again, great king, when the Mahāsamaya-suttanta (DN. 20), the Mahāmaṅgala-suttanta (Sn. 16), the Samacittapariyāya-suttanta (AN. II, iv, 5), the Rāhulovāda-suttanta¹, the Parābhava-suttanta (Sn. 6) were delivered by our divine teacher, incalculable numbers of gods were converted, all of them laymen, not ascetics. — Then, holy A., your ascetic life is useless. It must be in consequence of sin committed in former existences that the ṇamaṇas of the Sakyaputta's creed turn ascetics and observe the dhu-tangas. Those priests, holy A., who limit themselves to eating once a day, were in former existences, I suppose, thieves who stole food from others, and from having deprived others of food, in consequence of that act have now food only once a day, and are not allowed to eat repeatedly; it is on their part no virtue, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life. And, holy A., those priests who always live in the open air, in former existences, I suppose, were robbers who plundered whole villages, and for having destroyed the houses of others, in consequence of that act must now pass their lives in the open air, and are not allowed the use of huts; it is on their part no virtue, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life. And, holy A., those priests who always keep a sitting posture, in former existences, I suppose, were highwaymen who seized travellers, bound them, and left them sitting there, and in consequence of that act must now keep a sitting

¹ There are several suttas of this name; the one intended is that commonly called Cūḷa-Rāhulovādasuttaṃ, MN. 147 = SN. XXXIV, 120.

posture and are not allowed to provide a couch; it is no virtue on their part, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life.

After these words the venerable A. remained silent and said not a word. Then the 500 Yonakas said to king M., — This senior priest is wise, it is from diffidence that he does not reply. — Then king M., on seeing the venerable A. silent, clapped his hands, shouted, and said to the Yonakas, — Jambudvīpa is indeed empty, Jambudvīpa is indeed like chaff, there is no ṛamana nor brahman who is able to dispute with me and remove my doubts. Then king M., when on passing in review the whole assembly he saw the Yonakas fearless and undaunted, said, — Undoubtedly there is some other wise priest, I dare say, who is able to dispute with me, since these Yonakas are so very confident. — Then king M. said to the Yonakas, — Is there, I say, any other wise priest who is able to dispute with me and remove my doubts?

At that time the venerable Nāgasena, after wandering his beggar's way through villages, towns, and royal capitals, had in course of time arrived in the city of Sāgala, surrounded by a multitude of ṛamanas, the master of numerous disciples, famous and renowned and highly esteemed by the whole people, learned, clever, wise, sagacious, a skilful expounder, of subdued manners, but full of courage, well versed in tradition, master of the three Piṭakas, erudite in Veda lore, but at the same time in possession of the highest (Buddhist) intelligence, conversant with traditional lore, at the same time skilful in explaining the most abstruse meaning, knowing by heart the ninefold doctrine of Buddha better than any one else, equally skilled in the terms and the sense of Buddha's speeches, in propounding and in penetrating them, possessed of various and never failing power of reply, of ever varying

discourse, of the finest eloquence, difficult to equal and (more) difficult to excel, difficult to answer, to refute, to defeat, imperturbable like the sea, immoveable like the king of mountains, an overcomer of sin, a dispeller of darkness and diffuser of light, a powerful orator, a confounder of the audience of other teachers, a crusher of the adherents of other doctrines, honoured and revered by priests and priestesses, male and female lay votaries, kings and ministers, abundantly supplied with the requisites (of Buddhist priests), viz., beggar's cloak and bowl of alms and hut and what is needful in sickness, receiving the highest honour no less than emoluments; to the wise and sapient who were willing to listen, he showed the ninefold jewel of Buddha's doctrine, taught them the way of the law, lighted them with the lamp of the law, put up for them the sacrificial post of the law, for their benefit offered up the sacrifice of the law, held on high the banner of the law, raised the flag of the law, winded the conch of the law, beat the drum of the law, sounded the lion's roar, sent forth the thunder of Indra, and by the thunder of his sweet voice and the copious shower of the nectar of the law, wrapped as it were in a net of flashes from his superior intelligence, and teeming with the water of mercy, he fully satisfied all the world. There, then, at the Sankheyya-pariveṇa, did the venerable Nāgasena dwell, together with 80000 priests. Therefore it is said,

(He was) learned in tradition, wise and clever, a skilful judge of the various philosophical systems, and quick at finding a reply.

And those priests, familiar with the three Piṭakas, or with the five Nikāyas, or with four of them, regarded Nāgasena as their leader.

Nāgasena, the profoundly sapient sage, skilful in

distinguishing which was the way and which was not, the wise one, who had attained the highest aim,

After wandering through villages and towns, arrived in Sāgala, accompanied by those able priests, confessors of the truth.

Then Nāgasena lived at the Sankheyya-pariveṇa, appearing among men like a lion in the mountains.

Then Devamantiya said to king Milinda, — Wait a little, great king, there is a senior priest called Nāgasena, learned, wise and sapient, of subdued manners, yet full of courage, familiar with traditional lore, of ever varying discourse, of happy power of replying, an adept in the four supernatural attainments, viz., knowledge of the words and the sense of the law, a faculty of explaining it and of refuting objections; he at present dwells at the Sankheyya-pariveṇa, go thou, great king, and propound thy questions to the venerable N., he is able to converse with thee and to remove thy doubts. — No sooner did king M. hear the name of N., than he was seized with dread and stupor and horripilation. Then he said to Devamantiya, — Is the priest N. indeed able to converse with me? — He is able, great king, to converse even with the guardians of the world, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Prajāpati, Suyāma, Santushita, even with the progenitor of mankind, the great Brahma, how much more with a human being? — Then king M. said to D., — Well then, do thou, Devamantiya, send a messenger to the holy one. — Certainly, lord, said D., and sent this message to the venerable N., — King M., holy one, wishes to see the venerable (N.). — The venerable N. said, — Well then, let him come. — Then king M., surrounded by the 500 Yonakas, ascended the royal car, and together with a large body of warriors went to the venerable N. at the Sankheyya-pariveṇa.

At that time the venerable N., with the 80000 priests,

was sitting in the circular hall. So king M. saw the assembly of the venerable N. from a distance, and as he saw it, said to D., — Whose is this large assembly, D.? — It is the assembly of the venerable N., great king. Then king M., from seeing the venerable N.'s assembly even at a distance, was seized with dread and stupor and horripilation. But, though afraid and terrified, confused and besides himself with fear and dread, — like an elephant surrounded by rhinoceroses, like a serpent surrounded by garuḍas, a jackal by boa-constrictors, a bear by buffaloes, like a frog pursued by a snake, a deer by a panther, like a snake attacked by a snake-catcher, a rat by a cat, a demon by a conjurer, like the moon caught in the mouth of Rāhu, like a snake in a basket, like a bird in a cage, like a fish in a net, like a man who has entered a forest infested by wild beasts, like a Yaksha who has sinned against Vaiṣravaṇa, like a god whose term of life is at an end, — king M. took heart on consideration that he must not allow those people to humiliate him, and said to D., — Do not thou, D., point out to me the venerable N., I shall know him without having him pointed out. — Certainly, great king, know him yourself. — Now at that time the venerable N. was younger than the 40000 priests who sat before him in that assembly of priests, and older than the 40000 priests who sat behind him. Then king M., on reviewing the whole of that priesthood, both in front and behind and in the middle, from a distance saw the venerable N. sitting in the middle of the priesthood, like a shaggy lion free from fear and terror and diffidence, and as soon as he saw him, knew by his mien that this was N. Then king M. said to D., — This then, D., is the venerable N. — Yes, great king, this is N.; well didst thou know him. — Whereupon the king rejoiced that he had known N. without having

him pointed out. And again, on seeing the venerable N., king M. was seized with dread and stupor and horripilation. Therefore it is said,

The king on seeing Nāgasena, distinguished by such holiness, with demeanour evincing the highest self-chastening, spoke these word to him:

Many interlocutors I have met with, many conversations I have engaged in, but never did I feel such fear, never did my whole frame shake, as it does to-day.

Troubled as my mind is, defeat will doubtlessly be mine to-day, and victory Nāgasena's.

End of Introduction.

NOTES.

P. 5¹. The name of Milinda has been happily identified with the Greek Menandros. In Pali the liquids *n* and *l* are easily interchanged, more especially either by assimilation or dissimilation; as, *mulāla* S. *mṛṇāla*, *nangala* S. *lāngala*, *nangula* S. *lāngula*, *nalāṭa* S. *lalāṭa*, *veḷa* S. *veṇu* (proceeding from the oblique cases), *pilandhati* 'to ornament,' from *pilandha*¹ S. *pinaddha* (comp. *onandhati*, *pariyonandhati*), *vijjotalanta*, pres. part. of a denominative from S. *vidyotana*. The latter part of the name is made to contain the Pali word *inda*; or else assimilation of vowels may have taken place, as in *nilicchita*, S. *nirasṣṭa* from AKSH (the Burmese write *nilacchita*), *nisinna* S. *ni-shaṇṇa*, *piṭṭhi* S. *prshṭha*,² etc.

P. 5¹¹. *Taṃyathā 'nusūyate* is a phrase well known from Sanskrit, especially Buddhist Sanskrit, comp. Five Jāt. p. 59; in Pali I have only found it in this place.

P. 5¹⁴. *Rāmaṇeyyaka*, S. *rāmaṇiyaka*, seems always to be used as a substantive; comp., *Abhiṇāsi no* (i. e. *nu*) *tvaṃ rājāñña divāseyyaṃ upagato supinaṃ paṇṇā, āra-marāmaṇeyyakaṃ vanarāmaṇeyyakaṃ bhūmirāmaṇeyyakaṃ pokkharāṇīrāmaṇeyyakaṃ* (DN. 24); *iccheyyāsi no tvaṃ*

¹ *Pilandha* is used in Mil. and in comments; I have not found it in any Pitaka text. But *pilandhita* seems to be unused.

² An interesting case showing the transition from the neuter *piṭṭhaṃ* to the fem. *piṭṭhi*, occurs in each of the four Nikāyas: *Piṭṭhiṃ me* (so MN. and SN.; *piṭṭhi me* DN. and AN.) *agilāyati* (*agilāyati* SN.), *taṃ - ahaṃ āyamiṣṣāmi*, 'my back pains me a little, I wish to stretch it.' Comp. Jāt. I, p. 491 (at l. 8 read, *paṭibhātu taṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammī katha*). The assimilation has taken place, but the nasal is retained, and the word probably still remains neuter. The case is different from *nidhīn-nikkhāto* (S. -ir ni-) Jāt. 807 v. 4.

mārisa Moggallāna Vejayantassa pāsādassa rāmaṇeyyakam datthum (MN. 37). At Dh. v. 98 bhūmimrāmaṇeyyakam is a compound with m inserted for metrical reasons;³ the parallel verse SN. XI, 15 has the same reading.

P. 5¹⁸. Caccara is S. catvara; v and r after a dental being sometimes changed into y, and thus together with the dental mostly forming a palatal, as gijjha S. gr̥dhra, ekacca⁴ S. ekatara (after contraction into *ekatra).

P. 6¹. Dānagga is no doubt a contraction of dānā-gāra, by elision of the penultimate vowel; for in the sense of house -agga is used in several compounds, as bhattagga (Dh. p. 104; Mhw. p. 88), salākagga, vassagga (a shed, Jāt. I p. 123), uposathagga (also uposathāgāra). The like contraction occurs in ekacca, referred to in the preceding note. Also in pitucchā, mātucchā, S. pitṛshvasar, mātṛshvasar: sasar, which is otherwise unused in Pali, being contracted to -ssar, will according to a well known Sanskrit rule form -tsar, which in Pali makes -cchar, and for final -ar, as in some other cases, -ā is substituted. Jñu in composition for jānu, offers a Sanskrit analogy.

P. 6⁷. Kodumbaraka, the reading of M, is also that of the Vessantara-Jātaka, where the commentary explains it 'Kodumbararattthe uppannāni.'

P. 6¹⁴. Leyya is S. lehya; sāyaniya from sāyati 'to taste,' S. svādate. A single consonant between vowels is

³ Exactly as at v. 153 sandhāvissam with a double for a single s, to prevent the verse from ending in three iambs. This reading is however scarcely original, but so old that it came to be considered the correct form, and -isam is used only at the end of a hemistich. The examples are very numerous, and when Kuhn, Beitr. z. Pali-Gr. p. 111, characterized the form as "äusserst selten," he forgot that his knowledge of Pitaka texts was very limited.

⁴ At first view ekacca (also ekatiya, Th. v. 1012, if the reading is right) has the appearance of containing the suffix tya, and like Kuhn and Senart I formerly thought that such was the case. But that obsolete termination was no longer available for the formation of new words, and it never produced derivatives declined like ekacca, pl. ekacce. Compare also mahacca = mahatara, in mahaccarājānubhāvena, DN. 2; MN. 84. 89; AN. V, v. 10; and matyā or mātyā, petyā, S. mātṛā, pitṛā, Jāt. 527 vv. 3, 5; 538 v. 29. At Khuddakap. 9 v. 1 = Sn. 8 v. 1, I consider abhisamecca the instrumental of -etar in the sense of a future, with irregular shortening of the final, perhaps an old clerical error.

rather frequently elided, and to avoid the hiatus, which unlike the practice in Prakrit is never allowed to remain, either a semivowel is inserted or contraction takes place. *Sāyati* more immediately proceeds from the part. *sāyita*, like *ta-yidaṃ*, *khāyita* from *khādati*, in which verb however the elision is confined to the participle. *Sāyati* is so frequently accompanied by *ghāyati* 'to smell,' that the rhyme may have contributed to the change.

P. 7²¹. *Moggaliputta-Tissatthero* was the principal actor in the third *sangīti*⁵ or redaction of the Buddhist canon, 218 years after Buddha. His history, as related in *Mhw.*, has many points of coincidence with our text.

P. 7²¹. *Dissati*. Of the three Sanskrit preterites, the perfect has left but very few vestiges, and the imperfect and aorist are commonly blended into one form partaking of the character of both. Thus the old system has been entirely overthrown, and has had to be replaced by a new one. The aorist is expressed by the new Pali aorist formed from the Sanskrit imperfect, the terminations being on the whole borrowed from the Sanskrit aorist; the perfect by means of the past participle, so that the construction of the sentence commonly becomes passive (as, *evam me sutam*, thus I have heard). The imperfect takes the form of the present tense; and on this analogy the future may be used in the sense of an imperfect of the future. *Hoti* (= was), accompanied by a past participle, forms a pluperfect. The scheme is however partly infringed, in so far as the p. p., especially in an active sense, is often used instead of an aorist; and so is, in the text above, the present, of which licence there are, I believe, few other examples. — This system of preterite tenses differs not much from that used in more recent Sanskrit; the use of the present for the imperfect in epic Sanskrit has been noticed by Rückert in *Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Gesellsch.* 1859 p. 110, but according to his statement is more limited than in Pali.

P. 7²⁵. *Niggumba* from *gumba*, *S. gulma*, by meta-

⁵ Burnouf, and Childers on his authority, render *sangīti* by 'synod,' but I have met with the word in no context where the meaning 'redaction' is not either necessary or admissible. Nor does the verb *sangāyati* ever mean 'to convoke,' but invariably 'to make a collection or redaction of texts.'

thesis; gumbala being the intermediate stage. Comp. sim-bali, S. çalmali.

P. 8¹. The nineteen sciences are intended to represent the Yonaka cyclopædia, the difference of which from the Indian must have been well known to the author. Hence the number was fixed at nineteen, to mark them out as distinct from the 'eighteen' Indian sciences. But this was all he knew about the matter, and so his specification of them turned out a mere farrago of Indian words, the exact meaning of which no one would probably have been more puzzled to explain than himself. He first thought of çruti and smṛti, of sāṅkhya, yoga, nyāya, vaiçeshika. For smṛti and nyāya were substituted sammuti (S. sammati, perhaps in the sense of 'what is universally agreed on') and nīti; the regular equivalents, sati and nāya, being objectionable, because these are among the technical terms of Buddhism (nāyo = ariyo atthangiko maggo), and might have rendered Milinda suspect of Buddhist attainments previous to his conversion. The rest of the names are chosen rather at random, and mostly disguised as feminines ending in -ā, in order to look less like Indian.

P. 8¹⁷. Pūraṇo is the correct name, though written in all our copies, and often elsewhere, Purāṇo. He was born, according to Buddhaghosa, after 99 other slaves, thus 'filling up' the number of a hundred. In the following names, the forms Nāta- and Nāthaputto, Belatṭha- and Belatṭhiputto are written indifferently wherever they occur. The latter however is said by Buddhaghosa to mean Belatṭhassa putto. But on the whole metonymics alternate with corresponding patronymics so frequently, that it is often difficult to fix the right reading.

P. 8¹⁹. The forms Pakudho and Kakudho are used with nearly equal frequency. The transition from Kakudha, supposing this to be the original form, to Pakudha, belongs to a class of phonetical changes which offers one of the greatest difficulties in identifying Pali words with Sanskrit. The mutes sometimes merge from one organic class into another, but I refer more especially to the change of a non-labial into a labial, or of a guttural into a dental, or vice versa.⁶ Sometimes the cause

⁶ Khāṇu, which Vararuci, I suppose rightly, refers to S. aṭhānu, belongs to the class of etymologizing corruptions, alluding

is evidently dissimilation, as in *kipillika*, -laka, S. *pipīlikā* (in Spiegel's *Kammav.* incorrectly written *kiminnaka*); — *gaddūhana*, S. *dadrūghna*;⁷ — *takkola*, *Abhidh.* v. 304, corresponds to *kakkola* in the parallel verse of *Amara-kosha*; in *Mil.* (p. 359) also name of a country, perhaps S. *Karkoṭa*; — *jalūpikā* or *jalopikā* for *jalokikā* (*Mil.* p. 407). The latter instance may and some others must be referred to labialism, induced by an accompanying *u* or *o*: *khajjopanaka*, S. *khadyota* (*Dh.* p. 338);⁸ — *nirumbhati*, *sannirumbhati* (to hush, to silence; also to be hushed, to stand immoveable), probably from *RUDH*;⁹ — *samputiṭa*

to *khanati*. Comp. *su-nakha*, *su-pāṇa* (the Burmese write *suvāṇa*), both from *çvan*; *atraja* q. d. 'born in this house'; *rathesabha* (*janesabha*, *janesuta*) perhaps = *ratheçubh*; *purindada* = *purandara*; *balasata* and *palāsāda* for *palasata* (commonly written *phal-*, like most words beginning with *pal-*), 'a rhinoceros,' properly an adjective, possibly from S. *parasvant*, which in the *Pet. Dict.* is rendered conjecturally and perhaps wrongly 'a wild ass.' In *luddaka* for *luddhaka* 'a hunter' a confusion of *luddha* = *lubbha* and *ludda* = *rudra* has taken place. *Khāṇu* goes far to prove *khanati* to be the right reading; in *Dhātumanjūsā*, to be sure, it is written with the dental, but its authority is in this case scarcely conclusive, as some grammatical *sutta* or other will easily account for the lingual, with which it is written invariably in all good Singh. MSS. and partly also by the Birmans.

⁷ It is used to denote a very small measure or space of time: *Yo antamaso gaddūhanamattam - pi mettāṃ cittāṃ bhāveyya* SN. XIX, 4; AN. IX, ii, 9. *Nābhijānāmi ābādhaṃ uppannapubbaṃ antamaso gaddūhanamattam - pi* MN. 124. *Na kiñci apuññaṃ āpajjeyya antamaso gaddūhanamattam - pi* Mil. p. 110. The traditional explanation is very different and most absurd: *Gaddūhanamattam - pīti gāviṃ thane gaheṭvā ekakhirabindudūhanakālamattam - pi* (Ps.). *Gandhūhanamattam - pīti gandhavahanamattam. dvih' angulīhi gandhapīṇaṃ gaheṭvā upasīnzhanamattam; apare gaddūhanamattan - ti pāliṃ vatvā: gāviyā ekavāraṃ thanaṃ añjanamattan - ti atthaṃ vadanti* (Mp.). In the latter passage, for *añjana-* I read *āviñjana-*, from *āviñjati* 'to pull' — it is used in all the *Nikāyas*, and also in later writings — perhaps from *PIÑJ*, for which root that meaning seems admissible on account of S. *piñjana*.

⁸ Also *khajjūpanaka*, *khajjūpa*, *khajjūpaka*, more rarely *khajjota*, -aka.

⁹ *Fausböll* and *Childers* consider -*rumhati* equally admissible. In *Singhalese* MSS. *mh* and *mbh* are difficult to distinguish, but as an aspirate after a consonant in no other case passes into *h*, and as the *Dhātumanjūsā* reads *rumbh*, there can be no doubt that -*rumhati* is the only correct reading; and so it is spelled, I believe, by the Birmans, who are not in the habit of confounding *h* and *bh*.

'shrunk, shrivelled' (seyyathā pi tittakālābu āmakacchinno vātātapena sampuṭito hoti sammilāto MN. 12. 36. 85. 100), no doubt from KUT or KUC, since sankuṭita and sankucita also occur; kaḷopi (kalopi, also kha-) is possibly identical with karoti.¹⁰ The influence of a following labial consonant¹¹ is evident in bā- for dvā- (bārasa, bāvisati, battiṃsa), ubbhaṃ in certain cases for uddhaṃ (ubbhatthako hoti āsanapaṭikkhitto 'always standing erect, rejecting a seat' DN. 8. 25; MN. 12. 14. 40, etc.; ubbhamukha 'with one's mouth upwards' SN. XXVII, 10; ubbhaṃ yojanam - ugatā Jāt. 530 v. 53; ubbham-uppatita-lomo DN. 30); Prakrit appa, Hindostanee āp, from ātman, is a well known instance. The opposite transition from the labial into some other class, is unfrequent; the principal example is the root SARP, which by dissimilation — for most of the prepositions contain a p — forms -sakkati; as, apasakkati 'to go away,' osakkati (S. apasarpati), paccosakkati 'to retreat' (only once I have found osappati); ussakkati, abbhussakkati (or with assimilated vowels -ssukkati) 'to ascend' (ādicco nabhaṃ abbhussakkamāno DN. MN. SN. AN., mostly written -sukk-); nissakkati 'to go out' (whence nissakkavacanāṃ, Buddhaghosa's appellation for the ablative¹²); parisakkati 'to plan for' (parisappanti Dh. v. 342. 343 in a different sense); pasakkiya = prasrpya.¹³

P. 9²¹. As it seems, the author's original plan was to invent knotty questions and answers to correspond for each of the six teachers. But very likely he found the

¹⁰ Ālupa for āluka Jāt. 446 v. 1. It is possible on this analogy to identify sippi with cūkti, the labializing u (*suppi) having afterwards been assimilated by the following vowel.

¹¹ Similarly mm for nv in Dhammantari (in Mil. name of a physician), dalhadhammo (dhanuggaho) 'having a strong bow,' from dhanvan. So Buddhaghosa, no doubt correctly.

¹² The names by which cases are denoted by Buddhaghosa and other scholiasts, are partly peculiar and never used either in Sanskrit or by Pali grammarians — what Childers at kārakaṃ says to the contrary I believe to be an error — except in so far as Vanaratana, the author of Payogasiddhi, winds up his Kārakakoṇḍo with the following memorial stanza, which Alwis, Cat. I, p. 68, quotes from Suttaniddesa: Paccattam-upayogaṇ-ca karaṇaṃ sampadāniyaṃ | nissakka-sāmvacanāṃ bhummam-ālaṇaṃ' atthamaṃ.

¹³ Also anuparisakkati, paṭisakkati, anusakkati; but after ā, vi, saṃ, p is retained. Upasappati is used by Vanaratana in a grammatical example.

task too difficult, and abandoned his design. So there is scarcely any reason to suppose a lacuna in our text.

P. 10⁸. Acchati is in comments explained by *nisī-dati* or *vasati*; by grammarians it is rightly referred to *ĀS*, from which it proceeds through the aorist *acchi*, S. **ātsīt*.¹⁴ Hence the Bengalee verb substantive *āch°*.

Pag. 10¹⁶. Devaputta may be considered the sing. of *deva*, which in the sense of 'god' is rarely used in the singular.

P. 10¹⁹. The particle *pātu*, in *pātubhavati*, *pātu-karoti*, from S. *prādur*, is an instance of a sonant being exchanged for a surd. By Prakrit grammarians this sort of change is said to be peculiar to a particular dialect; an invention, perhaps, purporting to account for this irregular euphonism. In Pali the true reason is in most cases

¹⁴ *Dicchati* 'to give' derives from *adikshat*; Vanaratana rightly refers it to '*disa atisajjane*.' It occurs at SN. I, 32 v. 5 = 33 v. 2 = Jāt. 450 v. 7: *Appasm' eke pavecchanti, bahunā eke na dicchare (= dadanti Jāt. Com.)*. In the same Jāt. v. 1: *Apacanto (not cooking) pi dicchanti santo laddhāna bhojanam*, the scholiast paraphrases it by *dātum icchanti*, but it is unnecessary to suppose it to be the desiderative of *DA*, and it can scarcely be different from the word employed at v. 7. The verb *dicchati*, from '*disa pekkhane*,' mentioned by grammarians, might derive from *adrkshata*, but it is possibly a mistake owing its origin to a confusion with the former word. *Pavecchati* 'to give' is traditionally explained by *paveseti* (as if caus.) or *deti*, and looks like a derivative from *avikshat*, but neither *VIÇ* nor *VISH* make good sense; in meaning it agrees with S. *prayacchati*, but the identification presents some phonetical difficulty. *Pāhetha*, above p. 12², from *pāhesi*, is not found elsewhere. *Uggañchitvāna* Mil. p. 376 (in a verse quoted from an unknown source) from *uggañchi*. *Rudati* from *arudat*, as *oruhati* (in verse) from *aruhat*. From *DARÇ* a base *dakkh°* seems to be in use, which may have sprung from *ad-dakkhi*, but more likely from the forms I shall mention directly. Some of the examples are deceptive: *dakkhissati* is a future with double termination (comp. *sakkhissati*, *modathavho*, etc.), *dak-khetha*, *dakkhema*, -*emu* are optatives of the future, *dakkhitāye* SN. I, 37 v. 1 = DN. 20 v. 1 (Grimblot, Sept Suttas p. 280) is perhaps an infinitive of the future (other examples of the infinitive termination -*tāye* exist), likewise *dakkhitum* Vin. I p. 179¹¹ (also used occasionally in comments, as well as *dakkhitabba*). More unmistakable are *atīradakkhinī nāvā* DN. 11; AN. VI, v. 12 (but in the same suttas *atīradassī sakunō*, synonymous with *disākāko*, which was rightly explained by Minayeff, Mél. As. VI p. 597), and *dak-khāpita* Mil. p. 119³. Comp. Childers in Kuhn's Beitr. VII p. 450—3.

assimilation,¹⁵ the transformed sonant having been influenced by one or two neighbouring surds; or by l, which in contradistinction to l = ɖ is in this respect on a par with surds. Some of the principal instances are the following.¹⁶ Akilāsu from a-glāsnu; — pāceti Dh. v. 135, not from PAC but AJ, like pācana S. prājana; — pithiyati¹⁷ from DHĀ,

¹⁵ The term 'assimilation' may perhaps be excepted against, because it is commonly used in a somewhat different sense. But the process by which e. g. dharma, agni became dhamma, aggi, is in my opinion elision, not assimilation; we ought to remember that the pronunciation was dharmma, aggni.

¹⁶ I shall add some more: chakala S. chagala; akalu for agalu; paloka from palujjati (RUJ); ōpaka for ōpaga in kulūpaka. etc.; Upaku, in Payogasiddhi, for Upagu Kacc. 348 (Senart p. 187); Payāka for -ga Jāt. 543 v. 111; vilāka for vilagga ib. 527 v. 10; thaketi from STHAG; lakanaka 'an anchor' (Mil. p. 377) from laketi = lageti; palikha rarely for paligha, Jāt. 545 v. 64; Ceti, S. Ceti; rarely ketāra for kedāra, Jāt. 381 v. 2, patara for padara, ib. 444 v. 3; upa-theyya (DHĀ) 'a cushion,' ib. 547 vv. 34, 237; lāpa, S. lāba; lāpu, alāpu for -bu; pajāpati 'wife' from prajāvatī (perhaps also nelapati, puttapati for -vatī); pettāpiya AN. VI, v. 2; X, viii, 5, from pitṭvya; tippa for tibba in a certain formula of frequent use especially in MN. Chakana is S. chagana, but as it derives from cakrt, cakan, like yakana from yakrt, yakan, the Pali form is the older of the two. Upacikā is connected, through *upatikā, with S. upadikā, upādika, utpādikā, but as it offers an easy and natural etymology from upa- CI, it is probably the original of those corrupt forms.

¹⁷ Pithiyati was known to Childers only from Dh. v. 173, but it is of frequent use. Weber's obvious explanation did not meet with the reception to which it was entitled, for Childers and Kuhn repeated the old error; so difficult it is for truth to prevail. The fact is that pithiyati may be suspected of being a Singhalese blunder for pidhiyati, for so the Burmese write invariably. Since I wrote the above remarks, an increased knowledge of Birman MSS. has proved to me that a certain proportion of the words in question are there written with the sonant we are justified in expecting. This statement applies to bhinkāra, (perhaps chakala,) Upaku, mutinga, pithiyati, pāpuraṇa, supāṇa, and probably several others the Birman form of which is still unknown to me. The Singhalese form of these words is likely to be posterior to the introduction of Buddhism and Pali literature into Transgangegetic India. It continues an open question whether the rest are genuine, or were likewise corrupted in Ceylon, in the idiom of which assimilation, I think, forms a leading feature. On the other hand it need not be said that the Burmese abound in errors of their own of this as well as other kinds; e. g. hupeyya Vin. I p. 8 for huveyya, which is the reading of genuine Singh. MSS. (the Upaka legend is found twice in MN.). Comp. Alwis, *Introd. to Kachch.* p. 48.

for which explanation we are indebted to Weber, *Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Ges.* 1860 p. 56; — *chāpa* from *çāva*; — *palāpa* 'chaff' (more commonly in an adjective sense, 'chaff-like, void') from *palāva*; — from *LŪ lāpayati*, *Mhw.* p. 61⁷, if the reading is correct; — from *PLŪ opilāpeti* 'to make to sink,' etc.; — from *VAR apāpurati* or *avāpurati* 'to open,' for **apāvarati*¹⁸ with labialized vowel, *apāpuraṇa* or *avāpuraṇa* 'a key,' and the well known *pāpuraṇa* (sometimes *pārupana*, which is properly the noun of action) *S. prāvāraṇa*, for which the Burmese write *pāvuraṇa*; the corresponding verb being, by metathesis originating perhaps in the p. p. *pāruta* *S. prāvṛta*, *pārupati*¹⁹ (which the Burmese

¹⁸ Childers, though otherwise adopting my explanation, considered *avāpurati* to contain *ava*, not *apa*; but he was mistaken. For, first, *ava* does not account for the change of the radical *v* to *p*. Next, *apa* is scarcely ever substituted for *ava*; but *apāpurati* and *apāpuraṇa* are in use, and the p. p. *apāruta*, *S. apāvṛta*, which Childers wrongly dissolved into *a-pāruta*, is constantly written with *p*. Finally, *ava* - *VAR* would mean 'to cover over,' and could only by a Prakritism signify 'to open,' comp. *ava* - *CHAD*. Weber rightly saw this, *Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Ges.* 1876 p. 179.

¹⁹ *Pāpurati* instead of *pārupati* is mentioned by Childers, but I am afraid it is a mere lapse of memory; in *Sn.* at least no form of that verb occurs except *pāruta*, and I have met with it nowhere. Weber, l. c., was inclined to doubt the proposed etymology, and raised a twofold objection; first because *VAR* appears in its due form in *pāvāra*. *pāvāra*, next on account of the conjugation of the verb. I must here remark, in the first place, that nothing is more common than for a root or Sanskrit word to appear in a variety of Pali shapes; e. g. *kusita* and *kosajja*; *pidahati*, *pithiyati*, and *pidhāna*; *tudra*, *rudda*, *ludda* (*Fausböll* and Childers failed in explaining this word), and *rūla* (*Mil.* p. 275); *tikicchā*, *vicikicchā*; *byāpāra*, *byāvaṭa* (whence *veyyavacca*; from *PAR*, as *Böhtlingk* suspected); *pāruta*, *vivāta*, *saṁvuta*; *apāpurati*, *ovāraka* (*S. apavaraka*; at *Jāt. Ip.* 391 read *jātovārake*); *niyyāteti*, *-detti*; *pājeti*, *pāceti* (*AJ*); *gilāna*, *akilāsu* (*GLA*); *adḍha*, *āhiya* (*S. āghya*); and a great many more. Secondly, the regular Pali conjugation of *VAR* is *varati*, see *āvarati*, *vivarati*, *saṁvarati*. Forms corresponding to *S. vṛnoti*, *vṛnāti* are rare (*vaṇimhase Jāt. II* p. 137; *apāpuraṇanti amatassa dvāraṁ It. 84 v. 2*, *vaṇomi Jāt. 513 v. 14*, if I conjecture rightly, the MSS. have *apāpuraṇanti* and, against metre, *vaṇnemi*) and partly questionable. *Samvunoti* is known only from grammarians, and so is *āvunoti*, *-āti*, if it means 'to cover.' But perhaps the same verb is intended which in our best MSS. is written *āvunāti*, 'to pierce, to impale, to string.' If so, we cannot with Childers derive it from *VAR*. It is a new present formed — like **vināti*, *vināti* 'to weave' (*Jāt. II*

corrupt into pārumpeti). In a few other cases a final surd has remained unchanged in comp. before a vowel, as Yamataggi from Yamad-agni.²⁰

P. 12²⁶. Uḷunka is S. udanka. It means the ladle of the rice boiler, usually made of a cocoanut shell, see Mhw. p. 164.

P. 12²⁷. Sāmīci is to be derived from saṃyañc, with the abstract termination -ī or -i, formed no doubt from -ya, as in pārīpūri from paripūra, pārīsuḍḍhi from parisuddha, kolaputti from kulaputta, pāramī from parama. Sāmīci consequently means 'completeness, perfection,' and seems to denote such minor offices as form a supplement to the strictly incumbent duties. As regards the relation of the laity to the priesthood, the term implies, I believe,

p. 302⁵ and elsewhere) from vita, vīta, S. uta, ūta — from the p. p. āvuta (the regular equivalent of S. ota), on the analogy of lūta lunāti (or sūta suṇāti). The old present abbeti, S. āvayati, was almost superseded; I have only found it twice: coraṃ gaheṭvā rājāno gāme kibbisakārakam abbeti nimbasūlasamīm Jāt. 311 v. 3; ekaṃ sūlasamīm abbetha ib. 538 v. 37.

²⁰ Mutiṅga, or mudiṅga, from mṛd-anga; by false analogy, it seems, -tagga from -daggha. The latter part of bhinkāra for bhiṅgāra. vākārā (the Burmese write vākūrā) for vāgūrā, the rare ajakara for ajagara Jāt. 427 v. 2, was mistaken for -kāra, -kara. From the phrase anabhāvaṃ gameti 'to annihilate,' it may be suspected that anabhāvakata — so the Singhalese and Burmese agree in writing — is a similar error for -gata, if it is not due to the vicinity of tālavatthukata, which always precedes it (anabhāva from anu-abbāva, if Buddhagosa is right; but in my opinion from bhāva with the negative prefix doubled for emphasis' sake, like anamatagga; erroneous formations which would naturally intrude themselves from the apparent analogy of an-avajja being actually the reverse of vajja. anaññāta, S. anājñāta, coinciding in sense with aññāta, S. ajñāta). It is difficult to say why t takes the place of d in several derivatives of SAD: kusīta, Pokkharasāti or -sādi, the locatives samsati Jāt. 429 v. 5 = 430 v. 5, and the frequent parisati-m (whence the synonymous sabhatim from sabbā, mentioned by grammarians); perhaps this irregularity may somehow be connected with the fact that sāteti (also sāteti, sādeti; paṇṇasaṭa = parpaṇṇa), S. cātayati, is the actual causative of ÇAD. Pabbaja, which occurs occasionally for babbaja, is either a mere thoughtless confusion with pabbajati, or else an etymologizing corruption alluding to *parvaja, like supāna for suvāna, etc. (see above p. 59). For initials seem to be exempt from this sort of change except under peculiar circumstances. Tuvāntuvāṃ or tvāntvāṃ, 'quarrel,' is undoubtedly S. dvandva, but it was made to look like the doubled pronoun tvam, and Buddhagosa accordingly mistook it to mean 'theing and thouing.' The same remark holds good, I think,

such attentions as washing the priest's feet, presenting him a fan, and the like.

P. 12²⁹. 'Aticchatha bhante' is the phrase by which a mendicant priest is refused alms in a civil way, comp. Dh. p. 241. 242. A *ṭikā* explains it thus: Atikkamitvā icchatha, idha bhikkhā na labbhati, ito aññattha gantvā bhikkhaṃ pariyesathāti adhippāyo.

P. 14¹³. The attainments of a learned brahman are in the suttas invariably described in these words. The Nighaṇḍu is of course the Nighaṇṭu.²¹ Ketubha seems to mean the Kalpa, it is thus explained by Buddhaghosa: 'The science which assists the officiating priests (?) by laying down rules for the rites, or leaving them to their choice' (ketubhan-ti kiriyākappavikkappo, kavīnaṃ upakārāya sattham). The Akkharappabheda according to the same authority means *Ḍikshā* and *Nirukti* (saha akkharappabhedena 'sākkharappabhedaṇaṃ; akkharappabhedo ti sikkhā ca nirutti ca). In making the Itihāsas the fifth part of the doctrine, the Vedāngas seem to be reckoned as a whole; the scholiasts however think of Atharvaveda as the fourth part, though not mentioned. For the thirty-two mahāpurisalakkhaṇas, specified in several suttas, see Burnouf's Lotus. Anavaya is never used except in this phrase;²² I

as regards the reverse substitution of a sonant for a surd; for which reason I do not agree with those who derive *jāyati* from KSHĀ. Dandha, 'slow,' which is commonly referred to S. tandra, I am inclined to identify with *dr̥gha*, because *dad̥dhi* (in *kāya-dad̥dhibahula*, a word much used by scholiasts, but not found in the *Nikāyas*), S. *dār̥ghya*, means 'sloth, inertness;' in the Sanskrit or rather Prakrit *dhandha* the assimilation of the first and last consonants progressed one step farther.

²¹ Buddhaghosa says, Nighaṇḍūti nāmanighaṇḍu, rukkhādīnaṃ vevacanappakāsakaṃ sattham.

²² When I wrote this, I was unacquainted with AN.; it occurs there, at V, xiv, 5, in a different phrase: tattha sikkhito hoti anavayo. Mp. renders it by *samatto paripuṇṇo*.

²³ Like *upajjhā* for -ān, -āyaṃ; *ettā* for -aan, -akān (at Dh. v. 196 the construction of the latter hemistich has been mistaken; several prose parallels prove the meaning to be, '... cannot be counted by any one (so as to state), This is so much'). Traditionally *anavaya* is no doubt derived from VA (*va-yati*); the comments say, Anavayo ti imesu lokāyata-mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anūno paripūrakārī; avayo na hotīti vuttaṃ hoti; avayo nāma yo tāni atthato ca ganthato ca santānetum na sakkoti. — Lokāyataṃ is explained by *vitandavādasattham*.

take it to stand for an-avayava,²³ with elision of v, 'in whom there is nothing fragmentary.'

P. 15⁴. Pāpakānaṃ malānaṃ pabbājetuṃ seems to be inadmissible; it is probably an error for pāpakāni malāni.

P. 15⁶. Palibodha is perhaps an amalgamation of parirodha and paribādh, comp. sukhumāla (sukhuma, sukumāra).

P. 15²⁹. Onītapattapāṇi is thus explained in Payogasiddhi: Onīto pattato pāṇi yena, so onītapattapāṇi. Onīta consequently means apanīta.²⁴

P. 17⁷. All the canonical writings, and in an eminent degree the Abhidhamma, abound in repetitions, which in the MSS. are often omitted, being marked by the abbreviation 'pe.' The not omitting these repetitions is what is meant by 'vitthārena osāressāmi.' The sign of abridgment pe, or as it is written in Burmese copies, pa,²⁵ we are informed by Alwis, Introd. p. 93, means peyyāla, which is not however, as he asserts, an imperative 'insert, fill up the gap', but a substantive, peyyālo or peyyālaṃ, signifying a phrase to be repeated over and over again. I consider it a popular corruption of the synonymous pariyāya, passing through *payyāya,²⁶ with -eyy- for -ayy-, like seyyā, S. çayyā.²⁷

P. 21¹³. The phrase 'bhuttāvaṃ onītapattapāṇiṃ ... ekamantaṃ nisīdi' is very frequent in the suttas, and no

²⁴ Buddhaghosa says, Onītapattapāṇiṃ-ti pattato onītapāṇiṃ, apanītaḥatthan-ti vuttaṃ hoti. He mentions another reading, which is not in our MSS.: onītapattapāṇiṃ, 'having washed his bowl and his hands,' from NIJ. The best Singh. MSS. write the word with n, not ṇ, as Childers has it, and for which there seems to be some Burmese authority. The MS. marked M, however, has it only in one place.

²⁵ Also la and gha; the latter I am unable to account for, unless it be a contraction of la-pa — to which Burmese gha bears some likeness — instead of pa-la.

²⁶ This form perhaps occurs in the Bhabra inscription; Bur-nouf reads payāya for Wilson's paliyāya, see Lotus p. 724.

²⁷ And like teyya for -tayya, -tāya, S. -tavya. (Of the various changes which the suffix -tavya undergoes, apart from -tabba, only one example is found in printed texts, and it has escaped the notice of our Pali scholars: at Dh. v. 316 we must read with the scholiast, Alajjitāye lajjanti. lajjitāye na lajjare, because lajjita cannot mean 'what one ought to be ashamed of;' in other texts -tayya, -teyya, -tāya are not unfrequent.)

absolute is ever added, like *disvā* in *M*, or *viditvā* farther down in all our MSS. Scholiasts supply *ñatvā* or *upagan-tvā*. Some such verb, it is true, must be understood, unless we are to consider 'bhuttāvim onītapattapāṇim' as an accusative absolute, of which however scarcely another instance exists.²⁸

P. 22¹⁰. The canonical texts of Buddhism are principally divided into three *piṭakas* or baskets. We are at first view naturally inclined to think of three baskets of manuscripts. But such cannot be the Buddhist sense of the word, since the whole of the *Buddhavacana*, according to tradition, was in existence, together with its divisions and subdivisions, long before the texts were written down. 'A basket of oral tradition' is certainly a strange expression, but it may perhaps be accounted for in the following manner. Buddha occasionally impugns the authority of his antagonists on the ground of their doctrine being traditional, and tradition is uncertain because memory is often

²⁸ This is no doubt an error; I have subsequently met with several cases much like the one above, from which I select the following as the least doubtful: *Etad-attani sambhūtaṃ brahmayānaṃ anuttaram niyanti dhīrā lokambhā aññadatthum* (only, exclusively) *jayā jayam* (SN. XLIV, 4 v. 4). *Yathā pi camarī, vālam kismiṇca* (or -ci) *paṭilaggitaṃ, upeti maraṇam tattha, na vikopeti vāladhiṃ* (Bv. v. 202 = Jāt. I p. 20). *Evam-pi maṃ tvaṃ khalitaṃ, sapañña, pahīnamautassa puna-ppasīda* (Jāt. 474 v. 10). *Tā, chandarāgaṃ purisēsu uggaṃ, hiriyā nivārenti sacittam-attano* (ib. 535 v. 92; the comment in these two cases supplies 'viditvā'). *Santaṃ yeva kho pana param lokam: na-tthi paro loko ti 'ssa dīṭṭhi hoti. . . ti sankappeti, . . ti vācam bhā-sati, . . ti āha; santaṃ yeva kho pana kiriyam: na-tthi kiriyā ti 'ssa dīṭṭhi hoti, ti āha* (MN. 60). *Evammanā assa, atatham samānam* (MN. 105; Ps. makes no remark on the subject). *Yo bhikkhave evaṃ vadeyya: Yathā yathā 'yaṃ puriso kammaṃ karoti tathā tathā naṃ paṭisaṃvediyatīti, evaṃ santaṃ bhikkhave brahmacariyavāso na hoti, okāso na paññāyati sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāya; yo ca kho bhikkhave evaṃ vadeyya: Yathā yathā vedanīyaṃ ayaṃ puriso kammaṃ karoti tathā tathā 'ssa vipākam paṭisaṃvediyatīti, evaṃ santaṃ bhikkhave brahmacariyavāso hoti, okāso paññāyati s. d. antakiriyāya* (AN. III, x, 9; evaṃ santaṃ-ti evaṃ sante. Mp.). In more recent Pali I do not consider this use of the accusative admissible. Hence in Mil. at p. 143 for *hatthagataṃ janapadam* I adopted the locative on the authority of *M* (probably a conjecture, but a good one, for -aṃ and -ā are often confounded), and at p. 290, for *dve tayo divase vītivatte* I now think that I ought to have substituted *d. t. d. vītivattevā*, -tvā being not unfrequently omitted or added at random; *nīte dārake* p. 275 is no doubt the loc. sing.

unfaithful.²⁹ Puna ca paraṃ Sandaka idh' ekacco satthā anusaviko hoti anussavasacco, so anussavena itihītiparamparāya piṭakasampadāya dhammaṃ deseti; anussavikassa kho pana Sandaka satthuno anussavasaccassa sussatam pi hoti dussatam pi hoti, tathā pi hoti aññathā pi hoti. 'And again, Sandaka, suppose a teacher to be a traditionist, one who knows only the truths he has heard from others; he preaches his doctrine from tradition, through a series of teachers who received it one from another, basket-wise;³⁰ now such a teacher will remember some things well and some things badly, he may be right or he may be wrong' (MN. 76). Comp. also, Yam-idaṃ bho Gotama brāhmaṇānaṃ porāṇaṃ mantapadaṃ itihītiparamparāya piṭakasampadāya (āgataṃ should be added, I suppose; ib. 95). Working people are represented as accoutred with kuddāla-piṭakaṃ,³¹ 'hoe and basket.' It appears that baskets travelling from hand to hand were used instead of wheel-barrows, as fire-buckets are occasionally in our day. The term piṭaka consequently refers to the fact of oral tradition, and so do undoubtedly several other names of the Buddhist canon or parts of it.

²⁹ This might seem to bespeak great improvidence on Buddha's part, since after his death the stricture would apply no less to his own teaching; but then his dhammo was 'ehi-passiko opanayiko paccattam veditabbo viññuhi,' it was not a thing to be learned by rote. However, these sayings are not likely to have been invented after his death, and they are probably as genuine as any word of Buddha's.

³⁰ In thus translating 'piṭakasampadāya,' I thought more especially of the compound adjective evaṃsampaḍa, syn. with īdisa; but I should now prefer deriving sampaḍa in this context from DA, because I have found in a similar passage the word sampaḍāna used as its substitute: Etha tumhe Kālāmā mā anussavena, mā paramparāya, mā itikirāya. mā piṭakasampadānena, mā takkaḥetu, mā nayahetu, mā ākāraparivitakkena, mā dīṭṭhinijjhānakhantiyā, mā bhabbarūpatāya, mā: samaṇo no garūti: yadā tumhe K. attanā va jāneyyātha, etc. ('in the manner baskets are handed about,' AN. III, vii, 5; comp. vii, 6; IV, xx, 3). Traditionally piṭaka in these texts is understood in the technical sense of 'section of a book.' Piṭakasampadāyāti vaggapaṇṇāsakāya piṭakabandhanasampattiya (Ps.); mā piṭakasampadānenāti amhākaṃ piṭakatantiyā saddhim samentīti mā gaṇhittha (Mp.). It is far more probable that this sense originated in texts such as those I have quoted.

³¹ E. g., Seyyathā pi bhikkhave Gangānadi pācīnaninnā pācīnapoṇā pācīnapabbhārā, atha mahā janakāyo āgaccheyya kuddālapiṭakaṃ ādāya: mayaṃ imaṃ Gangānadiṃ paccāninnam karissāma paccāpoṇaṃ paccāpabbhāran-ti, SN. XXXIV, 242, etc. Comp. Jāt. I p. 336.

Pāli³² in my opinion properly signifies the 'row' or 'series' of teachers by whom the text was handed down; or, in Mohammadan terms, it is first the 'isnād,' next the 'hadīth' resting on its authority.³³ Tanti, used as a synonyme for pāli, originally means 'string, chord.' As a third synonyme I consider the much discussed 'sutta;' literally the 'thread' of tradition.³⁴ In the like manner paveni, 'race, lineage, the traditional law for secular matters,' lit. signifies 'a long (pa-) braid.' Vaṃsa, 'pedigree, list of teachers,' is often used for 'traditional doctrine or custom,' e. g. Five Jāt. p. 52; comp. Aliyava(m)sāni in the Bhabra inscription.³⁵

P. 23¹⁷. Bhadanta, though only known as an honorific appellation of a Buddhist, seems to have been originally invented as a nickname to signify one who addresses Buddha by the word bhadante, which is the emphatic form corresponding to bhante; just as bhovādin (Dh. v. 396 and the parallel verse of the Vāsetṭhasutta, MN. 98 v. 27 = Sn. 35 v. 27; Jāt. 543 v. 158) is used by way of retaliation by the Buddhists for those who style Buddha 'bho Gotoma.'³⁶ (For a somewhat different explanation by Weber, see his note to the verse.) Bhante

³² The word pāli, which is wanting in the best Singh. MSS. available to me, is spelled thus almost constantly in those of second or third rate, and the Burmese agree with them, so far as my experience goes. Comp. paṭipāti and S. pāṭi. With the spelling pāli it occurs in Asoka's inscriptions in the sense of 'precept,' which proves that the word is much older than it would appear from Buddhist literature; and also that it then bore a more general sense than the one to which it was afterwards limited. The name of the suttadharas, who formed a sort of tribunal (Alwis, Introd. p. 100; Lassen, Ind. Alt. II p. 81), shows that also sutta was not confined to religious or scientific tradition.

³³ A few Buddhistic isnāds are still preserved in comments; they are at least sufficiently genuine to prove that such lists were once in existence.

³⁴ He who receives a sutta from his teacher, for the time being holds, as it were, the 'end of the thread,' suttanta. Compare also such phrases as suttam bandhati, 'to fasten a thread,' suttam osāreti, 'to let down a thread,' which are used for composing or reciting a sutta; suttanikkhepa, 'throwing down a thread,' for sutta-composition.

³⁵ Comp., Atimadburam Buddhavacanāni mā nassatu, tantin dhāressāmi, vaṃsam thapessāmi. pavenim pālessāmi (Ps. 22). A tikā says, Paveniti dhammasantati, dhammassa avicchedena pavattiti attho.

³⁶ Comp. Childers in Journ. R. A. S. vol. V p. 230.

and bho Gotama are in fact the two distinctive styles of address used in the suttas respectively by Buddhist and non-Buddhist interlocutors. Though bhante would seem to be a contraction of bhadante, the vocative of bhadanta, this is perhaps an error. I incline to consider bhante a contraction either of bhavant or bhagavant. and bhadanta to proceed from the elided form *bha-anta, with insertion of an inorganic d, like attadattha, sadattha, anva'd-eva for anva(g)-eva, samma'd-eva for samma(g)-eva.

P. 25¹⁷. Pāramī was explained in a preceding note (p. 64). We may add that the word sometimes takes the pleonastic suffix -tā, before which the final is shortened, thus forming pāramitā.³⁷ This form is used in Buddhist Sanskrit, and has been differently explained by Burnouf and Böhtlingk, see the Petersburg Dictionary.

P. 26⁷. Katheti is probably a passive form, for kathīyati; a rare contraction certainly, of which no other undoubted instance is known to me except paṭisaṁvedeti, used indifferently with -diyati. I take it, like the synonymous akkhāyati in the frequent phrase aggam-akkhāyati, in the sense of 'appearing, proving to be,' or simply 'being.'

P. 26¹⁸. Devamantiya is evidently one of the 500 Yonakas, as well as Anantakāya mentioned farther down (Mil. p. 29). Both names, in spite of their Indian garb, are void of meaning ('counsellor of the gods,' 'having an infinite body'), and are no doubt corrupted from the Greek names Demetrius and Antiochus. It is not clear whether the same remark applies to the name of Mankura (Hermagoras?). At all events the author's list of Yonaka names was at an end here, for Sabbadinna is S. Āravadatta.

P. 26²⁶. Chambhita from STABH, with transposition of the sibilant, like cheva (also theva) 'a drop' from STIP, and in inverse order tharu from tsaru.

³⁷ The suffix -tā is occasionally added to abstracts in -ti, as santuṭṭhitā; very often to those in -ya, as kāruṇṇatā, kamyatā, saḥavyatā, paṭikulyatā, paṇuṇṇatā, dovacassatā, etc., or in -ana, especially in later writings, as anivattanatā, anosakkanatā, (tānatā Dh. v.288,) etc. (transcribers frequently corrupt these forms, comp. Dh. p. 383 l. 16 [read patthanatāya], 18; Mil. p. 132, etc.) Also -na is superadded, as jāratana, purisattana, etc.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

The Specimen above, apart from the foot-notes, was written in 1868 and communicated to a few Pali scholars, the late lamented R. C. Childers among the rest, who in the preface to his Dictionary mentioned my performance in terms, I am afraid, too flattering. Various circumstances have retarded its publication, and I am aware that the matter it contains is partly a great deal better known now than it would have been at the time of its compilation. I cannot help thinking, however, that in its present shape it still offers some interest to Pali scholars, to whose judgment I further submit some additional notes, mostly intended to give a few supplements to our Pali grammars.

P. 1². Upagañchi is the reading of the four Singhalese MSS., and it is doubtlessly correct. At some unknown period, either on the continent of India or in Ceylon, the aorist -gacchi was all but displaced by -gañchi. I have for years made this form the subject of particular inquiry, and judging from nearly 300 examples I find that the Singhalese write -gañchi in about four cases out of five. Whenever several MSS. or parallel passages are available, the reading almost always proves to be -gañchi, with the exceptions I shall mention presently. Gacchati, gaccheyya, etc., of which there are thousands of examples, are never once written with a nasal, and, if the form were not right, no reason appears that could have induced transcribers to write -gañchi, whereas -gacchi being regular was likely enough to be substituted by copyists who had a smattering of scholarship. At Kacc. 517 (Senart p. 263) the reading āgacchum cannot possibly be correct, since the sutta refers to mere anomalies. But the error is not surprising, if we consider, what seems to be a fact — Turnour's statement that the grammar was not extant in Ceylon in 1837, is not disproved by Alwis' finding a Singhalese copy in 1855 — that all the copies of Kaccāyana, if not Transgangetic, descend from one or more Burmese sources. For by the Burmese -gañchi is used so rarely that I once thought they ignored it altogether. And this

may be connected with the fact that Kaccāyana, whose precepts they seem to follow more closely than the Singalese usually do, allows the formation of -gacchi at 476 (Senart p. 247).¹ He is no doubt right, if we understand him rightly: in the compound adhigacchaṭi the aorist does not take the nasal (excepting -gañchum and ajjhagañchi), and in the plural, before -imsu, -ittha, -imha, -gañchi is very rarely used.²

The form in question has not been overlooked by native grammarians. I pointed out just now that Kaccāyana or at least his scholiast takes notice of it. And Moggallāna says expressly, 'Dāmsassa ca ñchan,' which the sanna and Pa-yogasiddhi agree in understanding thus: 'DAMÇ, and as implied by ca also GAM, optionally form the aorist by means of the suffix ñchan,' or by substituting ñch for the final of the root.³

I have said enough, I hope, to show that Childers did not do well in passing judgment upon the form. Nor is it so difficult as he thinks to say how it arose. The original aorist -gacchi was mistaken to be on a par with acchi, akkocchi, etc., and to derive directly from GAM with the imaginary termination -cchi, abstracted from these and the like aorists. It was consequently by a would-be correction changed to -gañchi, very much in the same manner as gatvā was amended to, and supplanted by,

¹ It is rather surprising that Kaccāyana should have restricted to gacch° an observation which applies with equal truth to most other irregular bases of conjugation; unless indeed this is intended for a polemical remark against previous grammarians, who possibly excluded the aorist -gacchi; perhaps also the future gacchissati, which in fact is very rarely used in old prose and, to my knowledge, never in old verse (Mil. p. 412?), certainly not in Dh., Sn., Jāt., nor the Nikāyas.

² I have found but one example from the old language: upagañchimsu SN. XLI, 13; and only two more in other texts. In the first and second persons of the plural, both -gañchi and -gacchi seem to be all but unused; I have noticed only upagañchittha Mhw. p. 28. Gacchimsu, on the contrary, is frequent, but examples from canonical writings are still wanting. It would seem that a certain tendency prevailed to avoid nasals after two consecutive vowels: gacchimsu is to gañchi as -mhi to -smim, or -imsu (= -amsu = S. -an + su) to -isum.

³ The aorist aṇāchi, S. adānkhī, is found, I believe, at Jāt. 444 v. 3 (written 'aṇanthi' in the Cop. MS.); ib. 490 v. 5 ('aṇ-dachi'); Cp. v. 338 ('atamsi' in the London Phayre MS.).

gantvā; and as the latter is of undoubted antiquity, it is not easy to be seen, why -gañchi should not likewise belong to the stage of genuine, continental Pali.

That such is the origin of the form I am discussing, is strongly corroborated by the existence of a future of similar formation, gañchati or gañchīti, which is far from unfrequent, though grammarians, as far as I know, have left it unnoticed. Compare the following examples: Ehi tvaṃ rājakumāra, samaṇassa Gotamassa vādaṃ āropehi; evaṃ te kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggaṇchīti.¹ Abhayena rājakumārena samaṇassa Gotamassa vādo āropito ti (MN. 58; the passage is repeated farther down in the same sutta). Bahūni ca duccharitāni caritvā gañchisi kho papataṃ cirarattaṃ (Sn. 36 v. 9; the metre is Dodhaka). Evañ ce maṃ viharantaṃ pāpimā upagañchisi,² tathā maccu karissāmi na me maggam pi dakkhisi (SN. VIII, 1 v. 5). Mātuc - ca³ me rodantā jettassa ca bhātuno akāmassa hatthe pi te gahessaṃ, na hi gañchisi no akāmānaṃ (Jāt. 525 v. 19). Mettaṃ cittaṃ bhāvettha appamāṇaṃ divā ca ratto ca, atha gañcitha devapuraṃ, āvāsaṃ puñña-kammānaṃ (ib. v. 51; written 'gañchittha' against the metre, thoughtless scribes mistaking it for an aorist). Sā 'jja lohitasañchannā gañchisi Yamasādhanaṃ (ib. 531 v. 47; the metre recommends gañchīsi). Pūjitā nātisanghehi na gacchīsi (sic) Yamakkhayaṃ (ib. v. 49). Ekarattim vasi tvāna pāto gacchasi (read gañchasi or gañchisi) brāhmaṇa, nānāpupphehi sañchanne nānāgandhavibhūsite nānāmūlaphalākinṇe (viz. dārake) gacchissādāya (read gañchisi' ādāya) brāhmaṇa (ib. 547 v. 453). I have noticed more than a score of instances, but the rest would require some discussion as to the right reading, for ignorant copyists too often trouble us with their gacchati instead of ganchati, and the evidence

¹ At SN. XLI, 9 this phrase recurs with the reading abbhug-gacchati, which no doubt should be abbhuggaṇchati.

² The parallel stanza Th. v. 1216 has upagacchasi in a Burmese MS.

³ The metre requires mātuc ca, which is most uncommon in Piṭaka texts; for even in prose I have otherwise found mātuc - ca, pituc - ca, bhātuc - ca in exclusive use. Comp. kaccic - ca Jāt. 547 v. 738; mūnic - ca MN. 91 v. 2; perhaps maccuc - ca Dh. tv. 135. 150; socic - ca paridevic - ca. madic - ca pamādic - ca AN. VIII, vii, 1; viii, 7 (in prose). Cases like these account for the false cca instead of ca in ādiyati - cca Sn. 41 v. 6; jātu - cca Jāt. 539 vv. 134. 137.

here given will suffice to prove that such a form is in use. It comes very opportunely to our assistance in explaining -gañchi, for it is not like that aorist without analogies. From HAN sprung up in the same manner the futures paṭihankhāmi (in the formula 'iti purāṇaṇ - ca vedanaṇ paṭihankhāmi navaṇ - ca vedanaṇ na uppādessāmi'), hañchati Jāt. 457 v. 6, hañchema Jāt. II p. 418 (an optative of the future; the form was noticed by Moggallāna and Vanaratana), and, I believe, āhañchaṇ.¹ All these were formed in seeming accordance with vakkhati, dakkhati or dakkhīti, lacchati, pacchati or pacchīti (S. prāpsyati; AN. IX, i, 4), etc. Comp. Prakrit socchaṇ from ÇRU.

P. 5⁴. Thānāthāna. Compounds like bhavābhava, kiccākicca are by scholiasts considered to contain the prefix a, to which they arbitrarily ascribe the signification of vuddhi 'increase,' so that such words are generally said to mean 'small and large things.' This is positively disproved by thānāthāna, unless we write it with the Burmese thānāthāna. Fausböll, at Dasaratha-Jāt. p. 26, explained the case on the analogy of rajāpatha for rajapatha, etc. But as that elongation is limited to a few very old words, I am inclined to trace this sort of dvandva to a drawing together of phrases like gāmā gāmaṇ, dumā dumaṇ. It is occasionally not very easy to tell whether the text means to give us a compound or two words. There are certain dvandvas consisting of the same word repeated with a preposition, as angapaccanga, buddhānubuddha, mañcātimañca, etc.; but the compounds in question can scarcely contain the prep. ā. Nor can they be considered to be analogous to calācala, keṇākeṇi, etc.

P. 5⁷. Suttajālasamatthita i. q. samatthita-suttajāla; samatthita I take to mean 'reconciled,' comp. samarthana in Wilson.

¹ This is a conjecture of mine in a passage where the copies vary extremely. I refer to a stanza which enters into the Upaka legend, MN. 26 = 85 = Vin. I p. 8. My MSS. exhibit āhaccaṇ, āhañña (Burm.), agajjuṇ, Alwis (Buddh. Nirv. p. 133) quotes āhañcūṇ, Oldenberg gives āhañci, āhañhi, āhañhi, āhamhi. From these elements I construed a new reading āhañchaṇ, and I think it is confirmed by Buddhaghosa, who explains the word in question by paharissāmi, and no doubt had that reading before him: 'Agacchaṇ (sic) amatadundubhin - ti dhammacakkapaṭilābhāya amata-bheriṇ paharissāmi gacchāmi.'

P. 5¹¹. *Tamyathā*. The author, in availing himself of this Sanskritizing form, shows that he did not perceive the identity of *S. tad yathā* with the Pali or rather *Māgadhī seyyathā*. In *Māgadhī* the masc. in -e was, for a great part at least, substituted for the neuter; there is double evidence that more especially *se* superseded *tad*. First, the Bhabra inscription professes, 'E keci bhaṁte bhagavatā budhena bhāsīte save se subhāsīte vā,' = 'yaṁ kiñci . . bhāsitaṁ sabbaṁ taṁ subhāsitaṁ yeva.' Secondly, in a *Māgadhizing* passage of MN. 105 it is said, 'Āṇā-jādhimuttassa purisapuggalassa ye (= yaṁ) lokāmisasañño-jane (= -naṁ) se vante (= taṁ vantaṁ),' etc. In *Jaina Māgadhī* *se* = *tad* is frequent as a particle, and *se yahā* occurs there too, see Weber's *Bhagavatī*. Compare also *yebhuyena* from **yadbhūyas*.

P. 7⁴. *Majjhantika* apparently derives from **maj-jhanta* like *pubbanta*, *aparanta*, q. d. 'the middle end!' No doubt a vulgar corruption of **majjhanhika* or rather *S. madhyandina*, *mādhyandina*.

P. 8⁴. *Sūriya* from *sūra* occurs at SN. XLVII, 51; Jāt. I p. 282.

P. 8²⁶. *Sārāṇiya* is the spelling of the Singh. *Ni-kāya* MSS. with scarcely an exception. It is formed with double *Vridhhi*, like *sāmāyika*, *pettāpiya* (or *pettāviya*, from *pitṛvya*, see p. 62), *poroseyya* (MN. 54, explained by *purisānucchavika*), *āvenika* (not -ṇ-, no doubt from *a-vinā*, lit. 'sine quo non'), and perhaps others.

P. 9¹². *Pukkusa*, *S. pukkasa*. Assimilation is one of the most common causes of vowel change in Pali. Instances of *i* assimilating *a* were given above p. 55. *i* acts upon *u* in *vijigucchati*, *parijigucchati* (whence *jigucchati*), *khupita* 'sneezing' (for **khupita*, **khuvita*, KSHU¹), perhaps in *sippi* from *ṣukti* (p. 60). But on the whole *i*—*i* is a sequence of sounds not much in favour; on the contrary, *i* before or after *i* is not rarely assimilated by *a*: *tadaminā*, *paṭhavi*, *pokkharanī*, *gharanī*, *dhajanī* (or -inī), *kāhasi kāhati*, *karahaci*, *timingala* (or -gila), perhaps *icchasaṁ*,² etc.; and so is occasionally *a*

¹ Not from KSHIV, which has a different sense, and forms *chubhati*; whence *chuddha* Dh. v. 41, etc. (comp. Mil. pp. 130. 187-8).

² *Yehi jātehi nandissaṁ* (aor.) *yesaṁ* - *ca bhavaṁ* - *icchasaṁ*, SN. VII, 14 vv. 1. 6. The commentary on Dh. v. 324 quotes this

single i: kotṭhaka (Five Jāt. p. 36), nātaka, upapajjare and similar forms from the Vedic termination -ire. The vowel a likewise influences u: pana, āyasmant, kappara (S. kūrpara), kahaṃ (S. kuha), tavaṃ for tuvaṃ, bāhā for bāhu, Sutanā (Jāt. 501) perhaps for -tanu, sakkhālī (S. ṣashkulī), accharā and accharikā of the same origin with S. ācchurita (Dasaratha-Jāt. p. 22). Oftener, however, u assimilates a and i: uḷunka, kurunga, kunkuṭṭha (Burmese kan-, S. kankushṭha), puthujjana (partly confounded with puthu), anutthunaṃ Dh. v. 156 and elsewhere, usūyā;¹ ucchu, usu, susu, kukku, etc. The transformations of the vowel ṛ are partly to be accounted for in the same manner, as gaha, gihin, anapa (iṇa), uju, utu. — Singhalese transcribers are rather prone to this sort of euphonism, and errors like payurupāsati, vinubbhujati, nuṭṭhura, kaṭucchu, etc. are not uncommon; so some caution is necessary. It may be doubted that all the forms of this description are genuine, even if the MSS. do not vary. Niṭṭhubhati is about as frequent as nuṭṭh-, which renders the authority of the latter questionable. Abbhussukkati (p. 60) is not written so uniformly. Kapaṇiddhika, as the word is written almost constantly in Singh. MSS., is perhaps an error for -addhika. — Long vowels are not exempt from this sort of change: seleti (Sn. 37 v. 4, etc.) from ṢĀD, oṇojeti from NIJ, vedheti from *vyāthayati (comp. byādhayissati SN. VIII, 1 v. 3 = Th. v. 1214; Th. v. 49), ereti² perhaps for ireti (comp. however the Pet. Dict.). khepeti probably from kshāpayati (KSHI). The modifying vowel is often a short one: masāraka, S. masūraka; a point to which I shall have occasion to revert farther down.

P. 9²⁶. Dosina or -nā, S. jyautsna, jyotsnā, was rightly explained by Weber, see Bhagavatī. The same

stanza with the reading icchisaṃ, and an imitation of it has, Yena jātena nandissaṃ yassa ca bhavam - icchisaṃ, Jāt. 432 v. 9. Icchisaṃ, if correct, may however have been formed by adding -saṃ to the A-terminations, like pamādaṃ MN. 130; AN. III, iv, 6.

¹ In anasūyaka the preceding a sometimes preserves the primitive sound, and at Five Jāt. p. 13 = Jāt. II p. 192 this is likely to be the right reading. Payogasiddhi quotes 'kā asūyā avijānataṃ,' but at SN. IV, 25 v. 8 the reading is usūyā, and so it is quoted at Kacc. 277 (Senart p. 125).

² At Dh. v. 134 read n' eresi.

phrase is found in the introduction to DN. 2. of which our text is in part an imitation; and the word is also used at MN. 32; Th. vv. 309; 1122; Jāt. 544 v. 19. Buddhaghosa's explanation is a striking instance of his occasional errors: 'Dosinā ti dosāpagatā, abbha-mahika-dhūma-rajo-rāhūti imehi upakkilesehi virahitā ti attho.'

P. 11⁹. I ought no doubt to have written uparūpa-rūpapattiko; the Singhalese are extremely apt to substitute uppajjati, uppatti for upapajjati, upapatti.

P. 11²⁰. Paggāṇhitvā dehi. The Burmese corrector did not know or was unwilling to acknowledge this phrase. But the use of deti in connection with an absolutive to signify 'doing something for the benefit of some one' is very common: Rukkhe .. tacchentaṇaṃ parivattetvā deti (turned the logs for them) Ten Jāt. p. 25. Dārūni āharitvā aggim katvā dassati Five Jāt. p. 2 (in this place Fausböll rightly rendered it 'will make a fire for thee'); Dh. p. 186 (not 'made a fire and gave it them,' Childers at samayo); Jāt. I p. 296. Esa no bhājetvā dassati ib. I p. 265. Pettikaṃ me rājāṃ gāṇhitvā dehi Dh. p. 157; Ten Jāt. p. 29; Five Jāt. p. 3. Cīvaraṃ no katvā detha Jāt. I p. 220. Pallankaṃ attharitvā adāsi ib. I p. 129. Gītassa atthaṃ kathetvā detha Jāt. 415, etc., etc. I also think that gāṇhāti is similarly used, though less frequently, in the reverse meaning of 'doing something in one's own behalf.' Examples from old Pali are wanting, and as in Singhalese the corresponding verbs 'denavā' and 'gannavā' are largely used in the same manner — see (Ferguson's) Sinhalese Made Easy, Colombo 1878, p. 61 — there can be little doubt that this phraseology sprung up in Ceylon.

P. 13²⁰. Tadūpiya is perhaps properly a Vinaya word; at least it is rare in the texts with which I am acquainted: Nālikodanaparamaṃ bhuñjāmi tadūpiyaṃ - ca sūpeyyaṃ SN. XXI, 96. Pañcamattāni taṇḍulavāhasatāni paṇḍumutikassa (or -tī-) sālino tadūpiyaṃ - ca sūpeyyaṃ MN. 81. In Ps. it is explained 'tadanurūpa-telaphānitā-dīni;' comp. Minayeff's Pātim. p. 81. In a tīkā I have found, 'Bhaṇḍāgāriko alankārabhaṇḍaṃ paṭisāmetvā pasā-dhanakāle tadūpiyaṃ alankārabhaṇḍaṃ rañño upanāmetvā taṃ alankaroti.' I think that this is a wrong use of the word, and that it has no such general signification. At Jāt. II p. 160 'na ca paññā tadūpiyā' may perhaps be

intended for a jest, 'there is no corresponding seasoning of wit.' If it really means, as the scholiast renders it, nothing more than *anucchavika*, the passage would prove that the etymology and proper meaning of the word were forgotten at an early age; for in my opinion *tadūpiya* can be nothing but *S. tadopya*. The *Pet. Dict.* at *ā-VAP* refers us to that compound, but it is wanting in its place, and I am ignorant in what sort of phrases it is used in Sanskrit. It is true that analogy would seem to require in Pali not *opiya*, but *āvupiya* (comp. *vutta S. ukta, upta; āvuta S. ota*, etc.). But that participle was probably derived directly from the present *opati, opeti*; for in this verb, in the sense of 'putting into,' *āva-* is contracted to *o-*: *Rukkhamūlagahanaṃ pasakkiya* (see p. 60) *nibbānaṃ hadayasmim̐ opiya jhāya Gotama mā ca pamādo, kin-te bilibilikā karissati SN. IX, 5 v. 1 = Th. v. 122. Na tesam̐ kotṭhe openti, na kumbhī (= kumbhyā, loc.), na kaḷopiya SN. XI, 20 v. 4 = Jāt. 529 v. 12 = Therīg. v. 285. It is also used several times in the Jātaka commentary. The nearly synonymous osāpeti was formed in the same manner from ā-VIÇ; it occurs in comments in phrases like 'pat-taṃ dhovitvā vodakaṃ (dry, vi-odaka) katvā thavikāya osāpetvā;' comp. also Jāt. I p. 25.*

If I am right in identifying *tadūpiya* with *tadopya*, it is not difficult to account for the *ū* substituted for *o*. It is due to the following *i*. The vowel *i* occasionally by assimilation changes *e* into *ī*, and by half-assimilation *o* into *ū*: *pāṭihīra = -hera = -hāriya, parihīrati (Sn. 11 v. 13) for *-herati, -hariyati (hence saṃhīrati, the passive of saṃharati or sangharati), abhijjhana (Jāt 546 v. 49, = viriyakaraṇa) from JEH;¹ — abhirūhati, virūhati (whence the syn. rūhati; comp. ārohati,² orohati), visūka from viçoka (Childers Dict.), mittadūbhin from -drohin. sītūdaka, nirūdaka from -odaka (for in comp.*

¹ *VEN*, *VEN* appears in the shape of *apavīṇati MN. 48, Jāt. 533 v. 1, pavīṇati Jāt. 409 v. 4. Compounds with anu and vi, which were probably in use, as they are in Sanskrit, account for the vowel change.*

² In later writings *ārūhi, -itvā* are found occasionally; it is perhaps fortuitous that *ārūhati*, etc. are wanting. The form may be explained from the syn. *abhirūhati*, but it is of doubtful authority. *Āruhati*, which is not unfrequent in verse, was explained above from the aorist *aruhat*.

odaka is generally used for udaka).¹ So likewise u affects a neighbouring e, changing it to ī: anuḥīramāna DN. 14, MN. 123 for *-hera-, -hariya-; dvīhi, dvīsu for *duvehi, *duvesu. It might be anticipated that u would assimilate o into ū, but such within my experience is scarcely ever the case;² so true is it that the Rule of Three by no means universally applies to matter of language.³ And yet o — u and u — o formed a sequence of vowels which at one time must have grated particularly upon the Indian ear, for it is in many cases avoided. But the expedient resorted to is dissimilation; either u it changed to ī, or e takes the place of o: bhiyyo (comp. yebhuyyena), mātito, pitito for -uto (in old Pali māti, piti are not otherwise used as bases), vito, vīto for *vuto, *vūto (see p. 64); — ahesuṃ (comp. ahoṣi), antepura for antopura, pure for *puro, suve (sve) for *svo, duve (dve), *duvehi, *duvesu (assimilated to -ī-) for *dvo- (comp. ubho, -ohi, -ōsu), hetuye Bv. v. 89 = Jāt. I p. 4 for *hotuye (*hotuve, hotave; comp. gaṇetuye Bv. v. 371).⁴

¹ The ū of khajjūpanaka, ārūgya (MN. 66) may be due to the latent i of dy, gy.

² Ukkūsa, S. utkroṣa, seems to form an exception, for ū is required by the metre at Jāt. 486 v. 2; but it is constantly written ukkusa.

³ I once had occasion to make this remark to Childers, who in order to prove gacchi to be correct, from certain analogies was tempted to assert that the Singh. character in question should be read cch, not ṇṇ. — If we expect to find u o v dealt with on the analogy of i e y, or vice versa, we are often disappointed. Y is doubled after e (except in keyūra), not v after o (except yobbana, yobbaṇṇa). From dussīla derives dussīya, but pātīkulya-tā from pātīkkūla seems to require short u. After a consonant va goes into u, v suffering elision; but ya, yā make ī (with a few exceptions, as kujjhisi, abbhībhāsi Jāt. 524 v. 21, pattiya S. pratyaya, whence pattiyaṇṇi 'to believe,' Jāt. I p. 426¹⁰, etc.; comp. pattiyaṇṇi, Weber's Bhag. 1866 p. 272). Aya makes e, as ava does o, and this looks like symmetry; but if we are to go by analogy, the former must have passed through ai with i for ya, the latter through au, with the second vowel labialized and v elided.

⁴ Some of the nominatives in -e may be accounted for on this principle: Vanappagumbe yaṭhā phussitagge Khuddakap. 6 v. 12 = Sn. 13 v. 12; ito so ekanavute kappe yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā loke udapādi DN. 14 (comp. in the same sutta, ito so ekatimso kappo); sukhe dukkhe (DN. 2; MN. 76; SN. XXIII, 8) for sukho dukkho (i. e. sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ), etc.

P. 14¹⁸. Ettaka is of somewhat doubtful origin, but as tattaka, yattaka, kittaka are formed from tāvant, etc., in the same manner as S. iyattaka from iyant, ettaka is either this very word, or else contracted from *etā-vattaka. The latter is perhaps the more likely derivation, since *kiyattaka or *kīvattaka forms kittaka, not kettaka; comp. also edisa = etādisa.

P. 14²¹. Anuyogaṃ datvā. In my rendering of this phrase, 'having applied himself zealously,' I left to anuyoga the signification in which it is generally used in Pali. I am now convinced that I committed an error, and I regret to see it repeated by Childers. The phrase must have quite a different sense. It occurs at Mil. p. 348 in another but equally obscure context, and in the Jātaka comment it is often employed exactly as above. But I have not succeeded in finding out any very probable sense, and I prefer confessing that I do not know what it means.

P. 15¹³. Urattālīm, which is of frequent use in the suttas in the above phrase, is S. uras-tāḍaṃ, with -īm for -aṃ like uttarīm, saddhīm, kuhiṃ (for kuhaṃ, S. kuha). Absolutes in -aṃ are not much in use, and there is perhaps no second example of -īm. Forms in -akaṃ, on the contrary, are frequent, as paripphosakaṃ (PRUSH), samparivattakaṃ, ālumpakārakaṃ; sannidhikārakaṃ, dantullehakaṃ, phenuddehakaṃ, udarāvadehakaṃ, etc.

P. 17¹⁵. Pubbanha is so written not only in B, but also, together with sāyanha, throughout in SN., which in point of distinguishing the two nasals is by far the best MS. in the Copenhagen collection. Vanaratana¹

¹ As native grammarians are so very sparing of remarks on the correct use of the two nasals, I shall here add another of his rules: 'Ta-tha-na-rānaṃ ta-tha-na-la' — ta-tha-na-rānaṃ ta-tha-na-lā honti yathākkamaṃ: dukkataṃ dukkaṭaṃ, evaṃ sukaṭaṃ sukaṭaṃ, paḥaṭo uddhaṭo viṣaṭo; aṭṭhakathā; paṇidhānaṃ paṇipāto paṇāmo paṇītaṃ paṇīto paṇīnāmo suṇṇayo (meaning, I suppose, dunnayo) onato; paripanno palipanno (sic). evaṃ palibodho pallankaṃ taluṇo mahāsālo māluto sukhumālo. It is obvious that with 'paripanno palipanno' begin the examples of l for r, and we must read paripanno palipanno. The latter was received by Childers with some doubts, it seems (see his Dict.), but it is not unfrequent in the suttas: Sake muttakarise palipanno DN. 14, etc.; palipapalipanno or palipāpalipanno MN. 8 (palipa or -ā, 'mud,' Jāt. 378 v. 1;

remarks that h may be joined to any one of the five nasals, and gives these examples: *avañ-hoti*, *tañ-hi*, *tañhā*, *pubbanho*, *amhe*. We may reasonably conclude that *nh* is also the correct spelling of *cinha*, *junhā*, *majjhanha*, which are known only from MSS. of no authority. It is rather fortunate that *pubbanha* is so uncommonly well authenticated, for there is no perceptible law for the influence of a latent *r* upon *n*; it may or may not change it into *ñ* (compare *tāṇa*, *pāṇa*, *tīṇi*, etc., with *ghāna*, *agghanaka*, *savana*, etc.). The very rare *aparaṇha* most likely requires the lingual. The average of Singhalese as well as Burmese copies scarcely ever present *nh*, and the scribes evidently are prejudiced against it, probably from the frequency of words like *tañhā*, *gañhāti*, etc. I once made some observations on the subject to Childers, who at *anha* repeated the substance of them. But he must afterwards have changed his mind, for he writes *majjhanha* in both ways, and at *pubbanha* he rejected the spelling for which there is incomparably the best authority.

P. 17¹⁵. *Phāsu* is perhaps the *Veda S. prāṇu*.

P. 19¹⁷. *Comp. Jāt. III p. 2⁵*, where the reading ought no doubt to be *asammattatthānaṃ* or *asammattatthānaṃ*.

P. 24¹⁶. *Na-tthi*. *Na* never loses its vowel before *a*, but constantly, in case of sandhi, coalesces with it to *ā*, even before a *saṃyoga*. *Napparūpa* is no proof to the contrary,¹ for *lacchasi napparūpaṃ*, *Ten Jāt. p. 115*, is, I dare say, a mere erratum for *lacchasi 'napparūpaṃ*, as the scholiast explains it. *Natthi*, if written *n'atthi*, looks like an exception, which it scarcely is; it is rather additional proof how apt is the root *AS* to drop the initial. Hence I prefer writing *na-tthi* (and *na-mhi*). Also *na*

509 vv. 9. 19; *Th. v. 92*; *Therīg. v. 293*; a derivative from *LIP* like the syn. *palipatha Dh. v. 414* = *Sn. 35 v. 45* = *MN. 98 v. 45*; *AN. VIII, vi, 6 v. 3*).

¹ *Nantaka* (not *nattaka*), 'a shred, a rag,' is said to be so called, because there is no (regular) end to them: '*Na-antakāni, antavirahitāni vatthakhaṇḍādini*;' or, as we might guess just as well, because 'no end' of them are required to make up a garment. In Sanskrit *naktaka*, because the naked cover their nudity with them; or *laktaka*, from being of various dyes. All these seem to be so many attempts at finding an Aryan etymology for a word which may have been borrowed from some aboriginal language.

'tthi would do, if it were not that na si, ca si, etc. cannot very well be written na 'si, etc., as the vowel a in prose — in verse the case is different — always coalesces, if sandhi takes place, with a following light a. At Ten Jāt. p. 28⁷ = Jāt. II p. 21¹⁶ the context requires mahājanassa līnaṃ cittaṃ. There are however some exceptions, or what seems to be so. But in the cases that have come under my notice, the second word is almost always ahaṃ, and I consider it preferable to write 'haṃ; as, tāva 'haṃ, eva 'haṃ (Mil. p. 219), tattha 'haṃ, and especially nāma 'haṃ (and nāma 'yaṃ). But also nāmāhaṃ (and nāmāyaṃ), etc. are found, and altogether the reading is not always, if ever, indubitable. Besides the Prakrit haṃ, there is other evidence that the initial of ahaṃ has a tendency to vanish. The elision of an initial a after o and e is rare in Pali prose, and only applies to the initial of ahaṃ, ayaṃ, and the present of AS; after e (with the exception of re 'yya Mil. p. 124) only to ahaṃ. and even this is most infrequent.¹

P. 25¹⁵. In my translation of vedagū, 'erudite in Veda lore,' I was no doubt mistaken, for though such is probably its original meaning, it is always used differently. It is one of those paradoxical or purposely ambiguous expressions in which Buddha appears to have delighted

¹ This is no doubt a point on which the particular dialect of Sanskrit from which Pali took rise more immediately, differed from the language of books. In the dialect in question final e and o must, generally speaking, have been treated uniformly before all vowels, not excepting a. And Pali follows the same sandhi law; only the hiatus very rarely remains, it being bridged over either by contraction or by the insertion of a euphonical consonant. Cases like sacāhaṃ, etc., which I think should be dealt with on this principle, are well known. But the other sort of examples have not, it seems, struck the attention of grammarians, native any more than occidental, though they are very numerous, as ya-d-antaḡū = yo antaḡū, haṃsa-r-iva = haṃso iva, ta-d-āsu = te āsu, etc., and may be met with even in prose: ya-d-ariyo = ye ariyo, dantehi danta-m-ādhāya, etc., if these are not allusions to verse. At Dh. v. 412 and the parallel texts I propose to read, ubho sanga-m-upaccagā = ubho sange u., in accordance with ubh' anta-m-abhiññāya, Sn. 55 vv. 65. 67, which the comment justly explains ubho ante. For scholiasts are perfectly well acquainted with this sort of sandhi; I was going to say, too well, for they sometimes have recourse to it, where it is rather out of place.

